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CONTENTS

	Page
Gandhi-Vivekananda-Rabindranath ...	271
— <i>Nirmal Kumar Bose</i>	
Caste and Service in a Bengal Village ...	277
— <i>Prabodh Kumar Bhowmick</i>	
Faction Situation at Brahminpura ...	328
— <i>P. N. Rastogi</i>	
The Holy Round of Kuka Marriages ...	337
— <i>I. Bhatnagar</i>	
Bargaon : A Hinduized Gond Village ...	341
— <i>Vishwa Mohan</i>	
Miscellaneous Notes ...	349
Book Reviews ...	355

Edited by

Nirmal Kumar Bose

MAN IN INDIA

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GANDHI-VIVEKANANDA-RABINDRANATH

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

Introduction

EVERY effective leadership is ultimately based upon some prevailing mood or ideas present in a large fraction of society. Sometimes societies may be divided into classes which compete with one another for power or privilege. They might throw up different leaderships in accordance with their sectional interests ; but such leaders are not likely to be universally acceptable to all classes forming a society.

It is of great significance that the leadership of at least three men have been of nearly universal appeal in India. These were Gandhi, Vivekananda, and Rabindranath. Instead of trying to describe the social base of these sons of India, it will be our purpose in the present account to draw a comparison between them so that we can find out their similarities as well as differences. Such a study is likely to give us a deeper understanding of the trends of thought which have been in operation in India in recent times.

Gandhi

One of the most important ideas which moved Gandhi was one which he had derived from his reading of Ruskin. Men may not be born equal, but society should assure to everyone equality of opportunity. Gandhi understood this to mean that the

wages of all specialists who are needed by society should be the same, because the physical needs of men and women are not likely to differ much from one another. Equality of income, therefore, should be the criterion of socialism. Gandhi was prepared to put up with a slight degree of difference in wages if it were the only way of getting the best out of talented people. Towards the end of his life, he did not see why the unused wealth left by individuals should not become the property of society or the State. Personally he did not believe in inheritance. Logically, if this is put into practice, it means cutting away the roots which lead to the formation of a class which thrives upon the inheritance of wealth.

Gandhi also held that every man had the freedom to live according to his own light, if it did not interfere with similar freedom among others. Living according to one's own light might lead one to plunge into conflict with social institutions which appear wrong from one's own point of view. A man living rightly has to wage war against the un-righteous living of others. But if the war is *civil* or *non-violent*, then the civil resister non-co-operates with evil and bears with patience the punishment meted out to him. But he does not inflict punishment on others for holding views contrary to his own. Satyagraha or non-violent resistance is therefore a corollary of the Gandhian view of truth. Gandhi was more eager that we should live *rightly* than that we should first of all seek avenues of conflict with prevailing society. Right living is the first duty. Opposition to un-right living is a consequence of that.

If one reads carefully the life of Gandhi, one notices that he was overburdened by a feeling of guilt on behalf of the upper and even middle classes of mankind. His life was almost a living penance for the wrongs inflicted by the upper classes upon the masses of mankind. He tried to organize the masses, make them conscious of their strength and encourage them to live rightly and resist the wrong life led by other classes who had been responsible for their impoverishment and subjugation. He de-classed himself; but his strong feelings about the sins of the class from which he came and of

atonement existed as a prevailing strain in his life and social philosophy.

Gandhi was in favour of a society in which every man had the freedom to exercise his inborn talents if it promoted social welfare. From this point of view, he respected the ideal of Varna in Hindu society. Caste was only its abuse. He wanted to equalize the men and women of India by converting everyone into a Sudra. Equality would come if all shared in the duty and responsibility of 'earning their bread by the sweat of their brow'. This was to be taken in a literal and not a metaphorical sense.

Vivekananda

In Vivekananda we witness as clear a recognition of the poverty, ignorance and current degradation of India's manhood and of her ancient civilization as ever moved Gandhi. He was bitter against priesthood, bitter against privileges of all kinds which had kept the nation steeped in superstition and falsehood. He also believed in socialism and in the complete freedom of the 'suppressed' masses of mankind. The upper classes were to bury themselves in order to raise the masses into life, activity and freedom.

Vivekananda also understood the Varna ideal in its true nature. He was as vehement in his opposition to caste as Gandhi could ever be. During a comparatively short life, Vivekananda tried to inspire the youth of India to rise and not merely waste themselves in 'negative efforts'. He wanted them to be 'positive', by which he meant that they were to build and build and only incidentally to destroy. He had an intense faith in the true ideal of Brahmanhood which was not based upon birth but upon personal merit. He wanted to raise all the people of India into the Brahman Order. They were to toil like the Sudra, bear a lion's heart like the Kshatriya, but inwardly they were to be dedicated and renounced like the true Brahman. A true Brahman, according to Vivekananda, was not different from the true Brahman described by the Buddha more than two thousand years ago.

In the opinion of Vivekananda, what India needed most was

intense constructive activity, intense education, so that the 'suppressed', whether they were the masses of India or womankind, realized their true inward worth. Once this was realized, it was for them to rebuild society anew. Vivekananda was completely against the imposition of a formal structure upon society by outside agencies. To such an extent did he believe in this that he once rebuked men for pretending to 'uplift women'. The responsibility of men lay in throwing open the doors of education fully to womankind; and it was then for them to decide what kind of life they wanted for themselves. Logically, the same might be extended in the case of the downtrodden masses. But for those who belonged to the hitherto privileged and educated classes, the duty was clear that they were to rouse 'the lion from sleep', by removing the cobwebs of *maya*, illusion, and leave them in the fulness of their strength to order their own life.

Spiritual freedom was thus, according to him, ultimately the most important thing. If that were assured, other freedoms would logically follow, for they cannot exist apart from one another. There can be no economic or social freedom without corresponding spiritual freedom.

When one compares Gandhi with Vivekananda, one is impressed by their striking similarities and also striking differences. Vivekananda differed from Gandhi sharply in one respect. He was never oppressed by Gandhi's feeling of sin and atonement. If we had sinned in the past, all that was necessary was to cast it out of our hearts and advance bravely towards a new world of light, courage and love. From this point of view, Vivekananda was clearly a Vedantist, while Gandhi came nearer to Christianity than to Hinduism, in so far as this particular attitude is concerned.

Or, perhaps, the Gandhi came nearer to the teachings of the Buddha who preached in his First Sermon that the existence of sorrow was the first truth which we had to recognize in life.

Rabindranath

Rabindranath wrote again and again that he was primarily and finally a poet. But his poetry or his life was as much rooted

in his social surroundings as that of Vivekananda or Gandhi, both of them were his junior contemporaries.

Rabindranath saw as clearly as is ever possible the debasement to which Hinduism had reduced the lives of those who lived under its shadow. But as one who had his roots in the great truths of Indian civilization, he lived in the world of the Upanishads in which Truth alone mattered above everything else. Love, beauty and joy were the means of the realization of that Truth. And he wanted to throw open the doors of this magnificent inward freedom for all mankind without reserve. In some of his writings, Rabindranath occasionally praised the highest ideal of *brahmacharya* and recommended it for acceptance by India for its own regeneration. This had nothing to do with the privileged Brahman class, although like the Buddha, Rabindranath did not hesitate to praise the highest ideal of true Brahmanhood.

Rabindranath experimented with social and economic reconstruction ; but this was not his line. He recognized the need of social action, and encouraged or rather inspired others of dedicate themselves to rural reconstruction with intelligent interest. But yet he remained a little distant from the actual task of reconstruction. Naturally, this was not even expected of him.

Although Rabindranath appreciated the need of social and economic reconstruction, yet he believed that its success was to be measured by the ultimate product in the shape of human freedom and creative enterprise. A gardener hoes his garden, trims the branches, and removes the weeds ; but these are not ends in themselves. The success of his endeavour is proved only when the plant begins to bear the flower or the fruit of which it is capable. In the same manner, the end of social reconstruction is to free the human spirit so that every individual can create the best of which it is capable. It is the flower of creativeness which proves the excellence of the gardener's work, not the amount of labour which he has bestowed upon his task.

Rabindranath had a deep respect for Gandhi and appreciated the latter's heroic endeavours for the reconstruction of

Indian life and society. He appreciated Gandhi's desire to bring about equality by sharing in the common toils of humanity ; but he did not like the apotheosis of Labour or of Sudrahood for which Gandhi was responsible. Men were indeed to live by sharing in common toil, but freedom had also be given to the scientist and poet so that they could reach the greatest heights of which the human spirit or intellect is capable. Undoubtedly, the poet or the scientist are not to live as a privileged class, but the freedom of pursuing high spiritual and aesthetic ideals has to be granted to them, otherwise the passion for bringing about equality through Sudrahood is likely to create new fetters which would bind human society in a new slavery, no less disastrous than the slavery imposed by Power and Authority.

Gandhi respected all the criticisms of the Poet even if at times he did not heed the necessary warning. It can however be said that of all his contemporaries, Gandhi found in Rabindranath one who could keep him on the right path by issuing warnings of love which arose from deep understanding and wisdom. Perhaps it was on this account that Gandhi described the Poet as *The Great Sentinel* who kept the lamp alight so that we might not lose our way in the dark involvement of our own action, even if that action arose out of love for suffering humanity and a realization of the urgency of our social responsibilities.

CASTE AND SERVICE IN A BENGAL VILLAGE

PRABODH KUMAR BHOWMICK

(Received on 4 September 1963)

IN this paper, we shall try to observe the village as a unit, functioning with its caste-organization, inter-relationship of the individuals, the attitude of the villagers towards one another, their duties, privileges, etc. For this purpose, the writer has surveyed in detail a heterogeneous village named Daharpur. It is important to note that in this particular village, there are a few aboriginal groups, who come into the picture at times in influencing the group life of the village. Daharpur is situated in Narayangarh Police Station in the district of Midnapur. The writer collected materials for thirteen months from December 1962 to January 1963.

The Village and its structural setting

Daharpur is situated about 12 miles south of Khargpur, and about a mile north of Narayangarh Railway Station. It is accessible by buses which ply frequently from Khargpur to Contai or Dantan and Balasore. It lies on the west of the motorable road. In the Mughal Period, it was a simple peasant village, and there was practically no tribal element in it. Most of the land was covered by thick forests and thorny bamboos. The population consisted of a few scheduled castes and one or two 'clean' castes. The land was not so fertile as to attract outsiders. There were frequent droughts and lack of irrigation. However the families living in this village claim a very early settlement, though tribals like the Munda, the Lodha and the Bagal, migrated into this area a few generations ago. Mundas formed a separate group in one outskirt of the village near the railway track, and the Lodha live far away from the village opposite the railway track. Only seven Lodha families live adjacent to the village proper, though they very rarely participate in the group life of the village. The Munda have a distinctive culture, so also the Lodha. Here a general

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assessment of the culture of the Munda and the Lodha has been purposely avoided.

In the village, there are a few silted tanks which have now been taken over as *Khas* by the Government. These are used by the villagers. A tube-well has been recently sunk, with grants from the Government. There is a free primary school run by three teachers, a club established last year, and a temple of Siva. The village owes its name to the goddess 'Daharchandi', installed in the village, and an annual Jathel festival takes place here before the first transplantation. A temporary fair is held on the last day of the Bengali year and the Charak festival is also celebrated here. There are two grocery shops in the village. Besides, the market at Narayangarh, known as the Station Market, is also not far from the village.

A few years ago, a rehabilitation scheme for the Lodhas was implemented here, and a social education centre was opened for the Mundas. Recently, one *grain-golā* is to be established here by the Tribal Welfare Department of the Govt. of West Bengal. These are, however, not directly connected with the upliftment of the village proper. The tribals are termed *Adivasis* by other castes and they, in their turn, are reciprocally called *Bāngālī Babus*, or 'Bengali gentlemen'. These two groups of the village exercise some sort of mutual suspicion and hatred towards one another.

Caste and Population

TABLE 1

Castes living in Daharpur, with number of families and population

Sl. No.	Caste	No. in family	Male	Female	Total
1	Brahman	1	4	3	7
2	Kayastha	2	4	6	10
3	Sadgop	17	43	45	88
4	BARBER	1	1	2	3
5	BLACKSMITH	2	9	7	16
6	Jugi	3	10	5	15
7	Bagra-kshatriya	14	35	39	74
8	WASHERMAN	1	2	2	4
9	Bagal	4	10	16	26
10	Hadi	1	3	2	5
	Total	46	121	127	248

Leaving aside the Lodha and the Munda, the village is inhabited by clean castes like Brahman, Kayastha and Sadgop. The Napits or BARBERS belong to the Nabasayak class. Other 'unclean' castes, like Kamar or BLACKSMITH, Bagdi or Bagra-kshatriya, Dhopa or WASHERMAN, Bagal (originally aboriginal, cattle herders), the Hadi, an untouchable caste, and the Jugi, belonging to Nath Sect, live in this particular village.

Economic activities

The traditional occupations and the present-day occupations of the castes are given in the following table.

TABLE 2
Traditional callings and present-day occupations

Sl. No.	Caste	Traditional calling	Present occupation	
			Primary	Secondary
1	Brahman	Worship Priesthood	Worship Priesthood	Land-holding
2	Kayastha	Scribe Land-holding	Land-holding	
3	Sadgop	Land-holding	Land-holding	
4	BARBER	Cutting hair and paring nails		Agriculture
5	BLACKSMITH	Iron work	Iron work	Day labour
6	Jugi		Umbrella repairing	Agricultural labour
7	Bagra-kshatriya	Cultivation	Cultivation	Day labour
8	WASHERMAN	Cleaning and dying clothes	Cleaning and dying clothes	House repairing & agriculture, day labour
9	Bagal	Tending cattle	Cultivation	Day labour
10	Hadi	Drum-beating	Drum-beating	Day labour, begging, etc.

Many of these families still pursue their traditional calling, but these are not enough. Some of them have taken to cultivation as alternative or secondary occupation now,

Some of the Sadgops claim that they do not plough but do other work in the field. Hired labourers are employed for ploughing.

In respect of economic activities, it has been stated earlier that 46 families of various groups have to depend directly or indirectly on agriculture or agricultural labour. Phani Bhusan Chakravarty, the only Brahman in the village, belongs to the Madhya Sreni section. He possesses landed property of his own and employs labour on fixed wages for a term of one year. He also serves in the houses of clean castes as family priest and performs the annual village worships and receives due remuneration. The details of this are provided later.

In the same way, the Kayastha families living in this village own landed property, but they do not take part in ploughing. They also engage daily labourers on wages. There are 17 Sadgop families, among whom a few have good cultivable land. They also claim a status equal to that of the Kayasthas and refrain from ploughing. Now-a-days a few have taken to ploughing. There is only one Napit or BARBER family in the village. The head of this family serves the villagers. He also attends festivals and other domestic rituals connected with marriage, childbirth and death. Besides, he cultivates his own land and serves as share-cropper elsewhere. There are two BLACKSMITH families in the village. They generally work in iron for which they are paid in cash and kind, such as an annual payment of paddy for mending and making agricultural implements for their clients.

Jugis are engaged in repairing umbrellas, making quilts, pillows, beddings, etc., and knitting and sewing. One such family owns a few *bighas* of agricultural land, which is cultivated by themselves. One Jugi family is engaged occasionally in carpentry, specially the construction of huts. There are altogether 14 Bagra-kshatriya families. They are mainly agriculturists. They cultivate their own land. Most of them are engaged as labourers and paid annually. One of them is also a carpenter. The WASHERMAN

washes the clothings of the villagers. For twenty pieces of cloth washed, he gets 62 nP. Besides these, he also serves in rituals connected with childbirth, marriage and death. For these, he receives special remuneration. The same WASHERMAN also earns a little by carpentry. The Bagals have come to this village recently. Previously they used to keep cattle, and were mostly herdsmen by profession. Now-a-days they are employed on daily wages for work in the fields. Only one family of the Hadis, an untouchable caste, lives in this village. The woman attends delivery cases and cuts the umbilical cords of the new-born, and gets due remuneration. The man also plays on drums during festivals.

The following table gives a picture of land-holding.

TABLE 3
Caste, Family and Land-holding

Sl. No.	Caste	No. of family	Own land (in acres) approx.	Land for share-cropping (in acres) approx.
1	Brahman	1	5	—
2	Kayastha	2	13	—
3	Sadgop	17	130	10
4	BARBER	1	1	2
5	BLACKSMITH	2	1	1
6	Jugi	3	3	3
7	Bagra-kshatriya	14	22	31
8	WASHERMAN	1	2	5
9	Bagal	4	3	10
10	Hadi	1	—	1

Agricultural operations

The common method of paddy cultivation is described here briefly. In this locality, land is classified into three categories. One is called *dahi* or high raised land in which the *aus* type of paddy or maize or different varieties of pulses are grown. *Dahi* land is practically barren. Medium quality of land is used for

āus paddy and *don* land, the best type of land, where water remains confined for a long time, is used for *āman* paddy. Almost all land, excepting *dahi*, is ploughed during winter or just after harvest after a rainfall. As a matter of fact, the soil is turned up and remains in this state up to the setting of the first monsoon, when manure, mainly cowdung, ashes, etc. are scattered in the field.

Then the field is ploughed again and seeds are sown broadcast. Later, in the month of Asadha or Sravana, when the plants are about a foot or more in height, the field is ploughed again, this being known as *kārān*. At that time, a festival takes place in the locality. This is known as Jathel. Sometimes, if there is a heavy downpour and there is little possibility of sowing, nursing beds for the plants are prepared. The seeds are soaked in water, and these germinate in a day or two. They are then planted in the nursery. After a few days, the plants are removed and transplanted in a new field which has been previously ploughed and levelled. After that, - weeding is done from time to time, and the cultivators keep constant watch on the seedlings against animals. Then comes the time of blossoming. On the last day of Asvina (Sept.-October), i.e., on the day of Dāk Sankrānti, a local festival takes place which is known the 'ceremonial feeding of the pregnant plants'. As the ceremonial food is tied to a leafy reed or *nal*, it is also known as Nal Sankrānti. Later on, when the corn gradually ripens, it is time for harvest. On the first day of harvesting, a bundle of paddy stalks is reaped ceremonially and carried home by the male members of the family and deposited on the thatch of the hut. After that, the harvesting operation starts and goes on in full swing. On the last day of harvesting, again, a ceremony takes place on the threshing ground which is known as Sar Khāmār Pujā. A Brahman priest attends this ceremony.

Besides these, there are other ceremonies connected with cattle keeping. In the month of Bhadra (July-August), cattle are worshipped in the cowshed, and a Brahman priest serves in these ceremonies, specially in the houses of clean castes. The Scheduled Castes, specially those who are known as 'unclean'

are not always served by Brahman priests. Next, in the month of Asvina, just on the day of Kali Puja or the Dewali, another worship of cattle takes place. The tribal communities, formed by the Munda and others living in the locality, observe this festival which is known as Bandanā or Cattle-caressing Festival, when vigil is kept and the worship and kissing of cattle take place.

Besides these, there are the kitchen gardens for growing vegetables like brinjals, potatoes, ladies' fingers, etc. To counteract evil eye, the skull of a cow or torn pieces of a shoe, or used earthen pots, turned upside down, and beset with dots of lime on it are placed in the garden.

Nature of services and remuneration

A few families consisting of Brahmans, Kayasthas and Sadgops of this village are able to employ whole-time labourers on annual wages. These labourers are known as *munis*, 'working man'. They are recruited from the same village or from outside. They belong to the following castes or communities.

TABLE 4

Castes of the employer and the employed

Sl. No.	Caste	Whole-time on annual basis	Seasonal labour
1	Brahman	Bagra-kshatriya, Munda, Lodha	Bagra-kshatriya, Bagal, Lodha, Munda, Kora Santal, Hadj, Bhumij
2	Kayastha	Bagal, Lodha	„
3	Sadgop	Sadgop, Lodha, Munda, Bagal, Bagra-kshatriya	„
4	Bagra-kshatriya	Bagra-kshatriya, Lodha, Munda, Bagal	„

Beside these services between various castes the following table is given to elucidate in detail the existing pattern

TABLE 5
Agricultural service and co-operation pattern
(Caste groups involved)

1		2		3		4	
a	b	Labour	Ritual	Craft-service		Expenditure	
				a	b	a	b
Wholetime or		Seasonal labourer	Brahman	Carpentry	Smithy	Cash	Paddy
yearly contract			Napit or Barber	Bagra-kshatriya	Black-smith	Cash	
Bagra-kshatriya		Bagra-kshatriya				Loan from	Loan and
Munda		Lodha		WASHERMAN		various indivi-	purchase from
Lodha		Bagal		Jugi		duals and	various indivi-
Bagal		Munda				Societies	duals and
Sadgop		Kora					Block Dev.
men only		Santal					Office.
		Hadi					
		Bhumij					
		(both men and women)					

of group activity mainly connected with agriculture. It will be noticed from the table that there has been some occupational change amongst the population.

Batakrishna Bhuiyan, a Sadgop by caste, has about 20 acres of land inherited from his father-in-law, as the latter had no son. He employs two whole-time agricultural labourers at Rs. 18 a month. They belong to the Bagrakshatriya caste. They are given food and lodging. As breakfast, fried rice is supplied to them. Sometimes soaked rice is also given. Each is given two napkins and two pieces of cloth annually. These domestic servants are served in brass plates, which are removed and washed by themselves. The women of the household serve them in a special row, set a little apart from that of the head of the family and other male members. After serving them, the woman who does this, has to change her cloth as it has become 'defiled'. This is generally the practice in Brahman or Kayastha and Sadgop families. Even today, at the house of Atul Chandra Pal, a Sadgop, his wife serves only once. If rice has to be supplied for the second time, that is done by a male member.

Besides these whole-time domestic servants or agricultural labourers, Bata Krishna Babu employs seasonal labourers, irrespective of caste. Last year he employed 3 Hadi men, and 3 women known as *Pachhiali* from the western tract of this district. They worked for 21 days and were paid after harvesting was over. In cash, the payment was Rs. 132. These seasonal labourers were given shelter and they cooked for themselves. This year, he employed 2 Santal men and 3 women during transplantation. They worked for 18 days and were paid in cash. Generally they are paid at 62 nP. per day for men, 50 nP. per day for women. Besides these, they were supplied with one seer of rice for food and breakfast.

Frequently, Batakrishna Babu employs Lodhas and Mundas of the locality for minor agricultural operations for

N.B.—In respect of whole-time employment in domestic or agricultural activities, no female labourer is employed, but in seasonal employment, both male and female labourers may be employed.

which cash at the above-mentioned rates is paid, and puffed rice, *muri*, supplied as breakfast.

Various expenditures throughout the year are met from the sale of rice. During the agricultural season, women have to play an important part in the preparation of food or refreshments and the head of the family carries these to the field for the labourers. He also supervises the work there.

Matilal Pal possesses 20 acres of good cultivable land and employs two whole-time labourers on annual wages. They are Munda. As usual, they are supplied with 2 napkins and 2 pieces of cloth when employed, and paid Rs. 18 as wages per month, over and above the usual food and lodging. Seasonal labourers are also employed in various phases of agricultural operation. It is important to note here that Munda, Santal or Lodha women who are employed during agricultural operations, never take their principal meals at the employer's house. Men also take their meals in a special (segregated) row. *Sal* leaf-plates are used for serving food instead of brass plates, which would otherwise be defiled.

Satis Dolai, belonging to the Bagra-kshatriya caste, employs a whole-time labourer who belongs to his caste.

Pulin Behari Pal, Sadgop by caste, possesses about 15 acres of land. He employs two Lodhas as whole-time labourers on annual contract, and pays each Rs. 17 per month, and another Bagra-kshatriya boy at Rs. 5 per month for tending cattle and other animals. He also employs seasonal labourers of various castes and communities as described above. Anil Chandra Pal and Anjan Chandra Pal, belonging to the Sadgop caste, employ Munda labourers on annual wages. The general perquisites given to these labourers are, more or less, the same.

Thus it is clear that agricultural operations are performed by both clean caste Hindus and the so-called unclean castes and other communities in the locality, as well as those who come from outside. They are fed and paid according to the normal rates in vogue in the locality. Brahmans and Kayasthas never plough. A few Sadgops who claim equality of status with Kayasthas do not also drive the plough. Such is the case

with the Vaishnava families, who were originally Bagra-kshatriya by caste. In a few cases, it has been reported that Sadgops have been forced to take to ploughing under pressure of circumstances or poverty, although it is not regarded as their traditional occupation. Dining customs in those families have, however, not been affected.

Sometimes exchange of labour in agricultural activities takes place, specially within the same community. Members of higher castes do not want to be employed on wages under people of lower rank. Strikingly enough, caste people and tribals were seen working for daily wages under a contractor in the neighbouring rice mills, and on railway tracks. Due to the introduction of the Test Relief Scheme, needy men and women belonging to various castes and communities have been working together irrespective of sex and rank.

Agricultural festivals have been described later in this paper, in connection with group-work in festivals

In respect of other types of co-operation amongst different groups, it is to be noted that most of the villagers do not have the means to meet all agricultural expenses. So they have to borrow money from various sources. For such borrowing, no discrimination is made at all. A Sadgop borrowed money at a high rate of interest, $6\frac{1}{4}\%$ per month, from a Bagra-kshatriya neighbour. It has been observed that in times of need, villagers belonging to any caste seek loan from anywhere, however high the interest may be. There are also instances when outsiders, one of them the manager of a rice-mill, were also approached for loan. In the village, there is a Co-operative Society, of which the heads of families belonging to different castes and communities are shareholders. They receive loan according to prescribed rules. Besides, there is another non-official organization named Kali Puja Committee, organized and managed by some well-to-do persons, from which short-term loans are issued at a high rate of interest. The loan is advanced from surplus of the Puja Fund, or from fines or village royalties levied during marriages. Thus almost all castes work in co-operation, and we find a group or corporate life rising above the barriers of rank.

In this village, three persons know how to build frames of roofs of houses, which is mainly a carpenter's job. Satya Dolai, Bagra-kshatriya by caste, and another man, Jugi by caste, as well as the WASHHERMAN of the village, are generally asked to meet the local needs. They serve all customers, high and low, and also tribal people like the Munda, Santal and Lodha. They command high wages; Satya Dolai, charges Rs. 5 per day. But the Jugi carpenter and the WASHHERMAN carpenter are not so skilled, and their charges vary from Rs. 2 to Rs. 3 per day. While working in the houses of people of lower social rank, or in the houses of the tribal people, they do not take any kind of food there, excepting tobacco, *biri*, betel nuts, etc.

Thus we find how agrarian activities are carried on by means of the available land and man-power of the village or from outside. Those who have no landed property are employed as whole-time labourers on annual wages according to the means and needs of the employers. When there is dearth of employment, they go outside the village for work or serve under railway contractors. They also work outside the village for long periods, as evidenced in the case of some Lodhas Mundas and Bagals of the locality.

In extreme cases of unemployment and poverty, three people of this village were found to resort to begging. Of them, one is a Jugi, and the others are Bagra-kshatriyas. In such cases, they do not discern between high or low castes. Preferably they avoid begging in their own village. In the neighbouring villages, when they go for begging, they visit the houses of the tribals also.

For other commodities of daily life, there is a market where things can be purchased for cash or even on credit. This has also no relation to caste.

The seasonal labourers are called *Pachhiali*, or 'westerners'. They are a heterogeneous group, consisting of working men and women. Most of them belong to the Santal, Munda, Hadi and Bhumij communities.

The table below shows credit facilities, their implications on the debtors and modes of repayment which form an important

part of economic life and contributes in a great measure towards the formation of closer intercommunal relationships.

TABLE 6

Sources of loan (money/paddy) and rate of interest

Sources	Amount (Rs)	Interest (annually) (Rs)	Term
Co-operative Credit Society	100	7.50%	Six months generally
Kali Pujā Committee	100	75.00%	One year
Individuals belonging to various castes and communities in the village and outside.	100	75.00%	„ with security
Paddy			
—do,—	1 md. of paddy	20 srs	Six months

In this way the villagers come in contact with many outsiders for meeting their agricultural expenses. Sometimes shopkeepers or businessmen also extend their co-operation by supplying commodities on credit. These outsiders act like friends or relatives. The motivating factors are not always individual economic gain.

Sridam Rana, one of the BLACKSMITHS of the village, makes various agricultural implements and repairs broken ones. For this he is paid in cash. He also goes to the market to sell his products to customers coming from outside.

There are two grocery shops here, where not only villagers but also others purchase various commodities. In course of time, a permanent customer-seller relationship develops, when credit facilities are also extended. Customers include men, women and children.

Social services

In the family life of Hindus as well as of Adivasis there are certain ceremonies or rituals which are traditionally handed over from one generation to another. These rituals are mainly connected with birth and death as well as with marriage. For this, a family indispensably requires certain services from others who are considered to be specialists. Thus various castes are tied to one another by reciprocal rights and duties.

Brahmans are the chief conductors of ceremonies, though their services are restricted to some castes and some ceremonies. The so-called Scheduled Castes or 'low' caste people are not served by them. But now-a-days, in many areas, a few 'fallen' Brahmans of the Utkal Section render such services to some 'low' castes, and they do so as they regard this as profitable. They restrict their choice of patrons to some 'low' castes only, e.g. the Bagra-kshatriyas, WASHERMEN and others. Naturally, these Brahmans have a wide circle of patrons, as the above communities are more numerous and live in a widely scattered area of the village.

Brahmans have their own code for particular ceremonies, and they demand remuneration according to prevailing customs. But in practice the payment may vary. It mainly depends on the financial condition of customers.

Brahmans generally attend the purificatory ceremonies connected with childbirth, or sometimes send Holy Water, *Santijal* or water collected from the Ganga, after the pollution due to childbirth is over. They also perform the auspicious First Rice-eating Ceremony, which generally takes place after six months. Occasionally, the Brahman also prescribes observances of a religious nature, as *Srāddha*, i.e. offering to the manes, as well as *Bār Bratas*, which are vows undertaken to please certain gods and goddesses, believed to have the power of granting wealth, pacifying enemies, etc.

Thus the advice and service of the Brahman for religious observances of one kind or another throughout the year is indispensable. He is also supposed to be able to

ward off the influence of evil spirits. Anyone having difficulties in daily life, worried with troubles and the like, consults a Brahman. Again, the Brahman acts as the conductor of nuptial ceremonies, blesses the couple with sacred mantras which exercise a beneficial influence on their minds. He also blesses the 'Second Marriage', which is celebrated when the bride attains puberty. It is only after this that a bride goes to live with her husband.

Besides these services, the Brahman serves in the purificatory ceremony when death pollution is over. He helps to appease the departed souls by serving his clients in their funerary offerings.

The Brahman also worships various gods and goddesses in temples or shrines in the village for the welfare of the community. Thus, he has a highly respected position in the social life of the people. This secures for him direct economic gains as well as indirect ones in the form of attaining religious merit which leads one to heaven after death.

Brahmans never accept cooked rice from the hands of non-Brahmans, and do not also sit together in a row with castes lower than themselves even when taking sweets or fruits. When the question of feasting a Brahman arises in a non-Brahman household, he takes sweets and fruits only, or in some cases, food prepared from flour and cooked in pure *ghee* if he is allowed to prepare it himself. After such entertainment, the Brahman receives a customary cash present as a mark of honour.

Particulars of the services rendered by a Brahman to other caste groups are given below.

TABLE 7

Details of the services rendered by Brahmans to others at Daharpur

Sl. No.	Caste	Name of Brahman priests with the name of village
1	Brahman	Mahesh Bhattacharya (Samvediya)— Pakurseni.
2	Kayastha	Dibakar Chakravarty—(Madhya Sreni) Metial.

Sl. No.	Caste	Name of Brahman priests with the name of village
3	Sadgop	Phani Chakravarty—Daharpur. Abinas Chakravarty—(Madhya Sreni)— Todara.
4	BARBER	—Abinas Chakravarty (do.)
5	BLACKSMITH	—Panchanan Bhattacharya—Jhargram
6	Jugi	Sukchand Thakur of the same community— Hanria.
7	Bagra-kshatriya	Hemanta Mishra of Hirapari Sambhu Chakravarty
8	WASHERMAN	Sanatan Misra—Benadia
9	Bagal	Vaishnav mendicant—Ragra.
10	Hadi	— nil

It may be mentioned here that Phani Chakravarty of this village belongs to the Madhya Sreni section of Brahmans. His family rituals and ceremonies are performed by his priest, Mahesh Bhattacharya, belonging to the Samavediya section. The latter lives at Pakurseni, four miles away from the village. The Kayastha families are served by Dibakar Chakravarty of Metial, who lives six miles away, Sadgops far outnumber other castes here, and are dominant by virtue of their wealth. They have Brahman priests like Phani Bhusan Chakravarty and Abinas Chakravarty of Todara, which is near this village. Jugis have their own priest named Sukchand Thakur who belongs to the same caste. Sukchand Thakur lives at Hanria about 30 miles away from this place. Near his house, there are many Jugis, and he renders more frequent services there. The Jugis of this particular village claim to have come from the above village. Bagra-kshatriyas are treated as a 'low' caste and are deprived of the services of Madhya Sreni Brahmans. The clients of this caste are divided into two groups, of whom one is served by Hemanta Mishra, and the other by Shambhu Chakravarty of Hirapari village within the same Police Station. The latter are regarded as degraded Brahmas of the Utkal Section, and they are not invited to a ceremonial feasting of

Brahmans which is sometimes arranged by caste Hindus. The latter never dine with the above Brahmans. The WASHHERMAN of the village has Sanatan Mishra of Benadia, (eight miles away) as his family priest. He also belongs to the Utkal section, and is regarded as holding a low rank. The Bagals have their own priest, a Vaishnava mendicant, who serves in various purificatory ceremonies connected with the life cycle of the people. The Hadis are untouchables and are denied Brahmanical assistance.

The ritual life of each caste is generally conducted by Brahmans, and varies a little in observance from each other. These are never challenged or verified for assessment of propriety and effectiveness by the clients concerned, because the activities of the Brahmans are sometimes connected with appeasement of departed souls and spirits, and sometimes of various gods and goddesses. These rituals are thought to be indispensable for prosperity, security and even peace in heaven after death. Brahmans have, therefore, a high social status and are respected by all, who do so by salutation and touching their feet even though the Brahman may be younger in age. His remuneration is paid in cash and 'salutation' or *pranāmi*, plus uncooked articles offered in the name of the diety, spirit, clothings, etc., while additional payments are also made on due occasions.

Due to the high social position of the Brahman in society, particularly in the villages, the Brahman has to observe a strict moral code on his part. He observes fast or austerities on auspicious and ceremonial days. His dress is somewhat simple. Generally he wears a silken *dhoti* on ceremonial occasions and a *nāmābali* or a piece of cloth worn on the upper part of the body on which are inscribed in print the name of God many times. During village festivals he has to wear a new cloth, as a general rule. For proper performance of the ceremony he requisitions a few articles, like a brass bell, a *Sālgrām Silā* or the stone which is supposed to represent Vishnu. In his house, he regularly worships the *Sālgrām*, and smears sandalwood paste all over

it. He has a pair of elongated copper vessels, *koshākushi*, to pour water from time to time at the feet of the diety during worship.

The Napit or BARBER is treated as an important social service man in the village. In this particular village, Gopal Mana is the BARBER. He came from the village of Kotai, 5 miles away, due to some social compulsion. He says that there the Scheduled Castes are dominant, and as they demanded his services and he was disinclined to do so, being of higher caste, he was maltreated by them and had to move over to this village. Recently, due to his illness, he has ceased serving some of his clients, and another man named Ashu Mana of Siara, about two miles away, does this in his place. Gopal is now suffering from asthma, and this has practically rendered him an invalid. According to Gopal, the BARBER of this particular community is appointed from two groups, namely, Barik and Mana. Manas have further affiliation with BARBERS having the surnames of Bera, Das and Hati. Bariks are inferior in rank and there is no intermarriage between the two groups. The BARBER has to assist the Brahman in many rituals related to marriage, 'second marriage', death observances, and for the propitiation and worship of the deities and spirits. During marriage a BARBER receives a remuneration of Rs. 5, five seers of rice, and a new piece of cloth from a family belonging to an upper caste. The BARBER directs the ceremonial application of turmeric paste and oil etc. during the bathing ceremony of the bride and bridegroom. He or some other female BARBER has to pare the nails, and paint the feet of the female members with *āltā*, a red paint made of lac, on ceremonial occasions. During birth observances, he pares the nails of the newly born baby, its mother and other members of the family as well as of agnates. During the purificatory ceremony, he receives Re. 1 or Rs. 2 in cash, if a female child is born, and Rs. 2 to Rs. 5 in case a male child is born, and 4 to 5 seers of rice and a new cloth in addition.

During a ceremonial gathering in a family, the BARBER has to wash the feet of upper caste people, at least, he must

pour water on the feet of Brahmans and Kayasthas and the like.

In their village, the BARBER does not serve communities, like Hadi, Ghorai, Bhumij, Santal, Munda and Kora. He does not perform any rituals connected with their life cycle, or pare the nails and cut the hair of people of these communities. He also does not take any sort of food from them.

Remuneration from the families of Brahman, Kayastha, Sadgop, Bagra-kshatriya, BLACKSMITH, Jugi and others, are, more or less, fixed for annual services, like paring nails and hair-cutting, etc. It depends on the number of individuals in a family as well as the economic condition of the party concerned. Gopal Mana receives one maund of paddy from Baneswar Mahapatra, a Sadgop, whose family consists of 8 members. He has 20 bighas of land. In his own marriage, Gopal also received Rs. 4 and 5 seers of rice, and one new cloth. Krishna Dolai, Bagra-kshatriya by caste, is served by a BARBER named Ashu Mana, of village Siara. He gets an annual remuneration of $\frac{1}{2}$ a maund of paddy for his services. For other services, he is paid in cash.

From Bholanath Bera, the BARBER gets $\frac{1}{2}$ a maund of paddy annually as his remuneration. For a birth ceremony in his house attended by the BARBER, he had to pay Rs. 2 to the latter, and two seers of rice and one piece of cloth. From Atul Pal, a Sadgop of the same village, Ashu Mana, receives an annual remuneration of $\frac{1}{2}$ a maund of paddy. Atul Babu personally prefers to go to a hair-cutting saloon which is located in the market place. Gobardhan Das, a Vaishnav convert from the Bagra-kshatriya caste, pays $\frac{1}{2}$ a maund of paddy to Gopal Mana.

However, the services of a Napit or BARBER in the social life of this village, has got two important aspects, one of which is for purposes like paring nails, cutting hair, etc., and the other is assistance in ceremonial observances, including worships and other rituals. His utility for the former services has lessened due to the establishment of a 'saloon' in the market in recent times. But the other service is still important. A few young men have their own scissors and safety razors, which

have also reduced the necessity of the services of the BARBER in their daily life.

Another interesting thing which may be noted here is that the BARBERS who do not like to serve the so-called low castes, open saloons in the weekly market, where they serve customers on cash, and customers may belong to all castes.

Dhopa or WASHERMAN : Iswar Sit of the village serves as washerman. Like the Brahman and the BARBER or Napit, the WASHERMAN has to attend a few rituals in the life cycle of different families. During birth, the WASHERMAN is approached, and he has to wash the cloths worn by the mother at the time of delivery. For this he gets due remuneration. In each family, his service is indispensable, specially during the purificatory ceremony after birth observances. Iswar Sit received Rs. 2 in cash and 4 seers of rice as remuneration from the family of Baneswar Mahapatra, a Sadgop, for attending a birth ceremony. On a previous occasion, he received Rs. 3 and a new piece of cloth in a marriage ceremony, as he washed the clothing of the bridegroom worn at the time of ceremonial application of turmeric paste and oil. Iswar Sit attends almost all the families except Hadi, Santal, Munda the Bhumij.

When death pollution is over and a purificatory ceremony is held, the WASHERMAN has to attend it. He gets his usual remuneration for washing the clothes, which is about 0.62 nP. for 20 pieces. Besides this, he also gets a special remuneration which depends on the economic status of the people concerned. This varies from Rs. 1.50 nP. to Rs. 3.00 nP., at present. Most of the families in the village now use washing soap and soda. As a result, the customary dependence on the services of the WASHERMAN is decreasing.

Even so, the WASHERMAN who lives near the station where the market is situated, earns more in cash because the people living here are a little well-off.

In the above situation, the WASHERMAN of this village does not find any interest in his profession as such, he often works as a day labourer in various places. Iswar Sit, again, has

some implements of carpentry, and he works as a carpenter, specially making frameworks of the roofs, windows and doors of houses. He thus earns from Rs. 2 to Rs. 3 a day. Another interesting thing is that when the question of traditional service arises, the WASHHERMAN does not work in the houses of the so-called lower caste people, like Hadi, Bhumij, Munda and Santal, but he works as carpenter in the houses of the same people. But during such work, for which he is called frequently because of his skill, he does not accept any food from them.

When the WASHHERMAN is invited in a ceremonial feast, he has to sit in a special row, set apart. He has to throw off his dining plate himself after the feast. Male members of the family alone serve the WASHHERMAN.

Hadi : The Hadis are an untouchable caste whose services are specially needed during childbirth. The Hadis also play on drums in ceremonial occasions. The women of this community attend delivery cases. They remove the soiled clothings after childbirth and cut the umbilical cord of the new-born. The placenta is placed in an earthen vessel and immersed in a tank. For this service a Hadi woman receives one new cloth, 4 seers of rice and Re. 1 as remuneration. Sometimes she demands more according to the financial position of the family concerned. Besides these, she has to attend almost on all the days until the baby is 21 days old, when a purifiatory ceremony is performed again.

The social status of the Hadi is very low. They are treated as untouchable, and in any ceremonial feast, people of this community are rarely invited. When they attend a feast, they have to sit in a separate row. They have to remove the dining plates and wash the place with cowdung solution for purification. Sometimes they are given a few pice as gift after the feast and on certain ceremonial days. They also visit the houses after childbirth when they are feasted and given presents in cash.

The services rendered by the different castes in the village are given in the following table.

TABLE 8
Service patterns in the life cycle and caste relations

Ceremony	Phases	Attended by
1. Birth	(a) During pregnancy.	Doctor, Medicineman, Priest.
	(b) Delivery	Hadi, Doctor.
	(c) Purificatory ceremony	Dhopa, Napit, Hadi.
2. Marriage	(a) Negotiations, etc.	Members of the clan or agnatic kins.
	(b) Ceremony proper	Brahman, Dhopa, Napit, Kinsmen, Villagers.
	(c) 'Second-marriage'	Brahman, Dhopa, Napit, Kinsmen.
	(d) Wedding feast	Kinsmen, Neighbours and other invitees.
3. Death	(a) Disease	Magician-Sorcerer, Doctor, Brahman, Aurvedic Physician.
	(b) Cremation rites	Kinsmen, Clansmen.
	(c) Purificatory ceremony	Brahman, Dhopa, Napit, Agnates, Villagers, Vaishnava, priest.

It has been stated earlier that in normal village life, the services of the Brahman, the Napit, the Dhopa and the Hadi, are indispensable. Sometimes remuneration is given in cash or in kind like paddy once every year. Besides these there are other rituals which are not related to religious or the customary beliefs of the people. But in the normal village life, such services are very uncommon.

'Medical' Aid

During illness, the villagers, specially the so-called lower castes, do not go for any treatment for one or two days and watch its course, and later, if there is aggravation, they consult the local Ayurvedic physician who prescribes medicinal herbs or roots. In complicated cases, the Gunnis or Magicians are also called for treatment. The Gunni suggests the probable causes of the disease, such as, influence of malevolent spirits hovering round the locality. He performs certain ceremonies. Sometimes he applies magical 'puffs' into the ears of the diseased man in order to ward off the evil eye of the supposed witch or spirit. There are many instances when sudden high fever, pining away of a child, and other chronic diseases are attributed to the evil influence of various spirits, and the magicians are called in for treatment. In this village, there is a Lodha sorcerer, named Murali Kotal, who practises this art, and has an extensive practice amongst the 'upper' castes also. His usual fee is 33 nP. per case; and after complete cure he demands more according to the financial position of the person concerned. Sometimes the Brahman family priest is also called in to perform a purificatory ceremony for the appeasement of ancestral spirits or other gods and goddesses who might be involved.

The local Ayurvedic physician, Atul Chandra Pal, is in demand in the village. In complicated cases, if he fails to diagnose and treat the disease properly, he seeks the assistance of doctors like Bhupen Ghosh of Narayangarh Market or others in the neighbourhood. Now-a-days the Medical Officer of the District Board Charitable Dispensary treats such cases, and some patients are advised to go to him. Now the villagers are

TABLE 9

Services of attending physician and medicineman :

Serial No.	Name	Caste	Locality and distance	Types of treatment
1	Srihari Das	Bagra-kshatriya	Daharpur	Application of magical 'puffs' and medicinal herbs.
2	Murali Kotal	Lodha	"	"
3	Atul Chandra Pal	Sadgop	"	Ayurvedic, medicinal herbs only.
4	Upendra Mishra	Brahman	Mokrapur (1½ miles)	Homeopath.
5	Raipada Acharya	"	Chatribhera (2 miles)	"
6	Siddheswar Dutta, L.M.F.	Kayastha	Narayangarh Charitable Dispensary (2 miles)	Allopath
7	P. Ghosh, L. M. F.	Sadgop	Bakhrabad (7 miles)	"
8	Bhupen Ghosh, L.M.F.	Kayastha	Narayangarh (2 miles)	"
9	Ajit Chowdhury	Brahman	Mokrapur (1½ miles)	"
10	Attending physicians from		Khargpur Hospital	"
11	Services of priest (Brahman) are required when offerings are made to the dieties.			

TABLE 10

Incidence of diseases and mode of consultation (1962-63)

Serial No.	Name with caste	Disease (No. of cases)	Person consulted
1	Phani (Brahman)	1 Diarrhoea	R. Acharya—Homeopath
		2 Influenza	do.
		3 Chronic defective eyesight	Astrologer consulted (Midnapur town)
2	Kedar (Kayastha)	4 Stomach trouble	U. Mishra (Homeopath)
		5 Typhoid	Offering of sweets to Siva of Bhadrakali plus Dr. P. Ghosh (Allopath)
3	Bholanath (Kayastha)	6 Chronic stomach trouble	Offering of kshir to goddess Kali of Daharpur plus Dr. A. Chowdhury (Allopath)
4	Batu (Sadgop)	7 Fever	Dr. S. Dutta of the Charitable Dispensary
		8 do.	Dr. B. Ghosh (Allopath)
		9 do.	U. Mishra (Homeo)
		10 Sudden fever with blood-shot eye (suspected case of spirit possession)	S. Das applied magical 'puffs'
5	Amulya do.	11 Fever	R. Acharya (Homeopath)
		12 do.	do.
6	Baneswar do.	13 do.	do.
7	Ananta do.	14 Fever due to old age and other complications	Chandrayana and offerings to Brahman plus Dr. B. Ghosh (Allopath)
		15 Fever	R. Acharya (Homeopath)
8	Atul do.	16 Sudden pain in waist	S. Das applied magical 'puffs'
		17 Fever	Dr. B. Ghosh (Allopath)
		18 Delivery complications	do. plus offering of sweets to goddess Kali

Serial No.	Name with caste	Disease (No. of cases)	Person consulted
9	Kshudiram do,	19 Sudden fever with paralytic symptoms	M, Kotal applied magical 'puffs' plus offering of one he-goat to goddess Kali, plus R. Acharya (Homeopath)
10	Pulin do.	20 Chronic dysentery	Dr. Mukherjee of Khargpur Hospital
		21 Whooping cough	R. Acharya (Homeopath) and A. Pal (Ayurvedic)
		22 do	do.
11	Apurna do.	23 Fever	Dr. B. Ghosh (Allopath)
12	Matilal do.	24 Influenza	R. Acharya (Homeopath)
13	Haripada do.	25 Prolonged fever	Offering of sweets, coconut to Siva of Daharpur, plus R. Acharya (Homeopath)
14	Kulabala do.	26 Fever	R. Acharya (Homeopath)
		27 Swelling of feet. with fever	Khargpur Rly. Hospital
15	Byomkesh do.	28 Rheumatism	Dr. A Chowdhury (Allo)
		29 Measles	R. Acharya (Homeopath)
16	Hrishikesh do.	30 Fever	R. Acharya do.
17	Anil do.	31 Stomach trouble	do.
		32 Influenza	do.
18	Kshudi (Bagra-kshatriya)	33 Fever	U. Mishra (Homeopath)
		34 Stomach trouble	A. Pal (Ayurvedic)
19	Kartik do.	35 Typhoid	Dr. A. Chowdhury (Allopath).
		36 Sudden fever	Dr. P. Ghosh do.
		37 Sudden fever with congested eye	Vowed to offer one he-goat to goddess Kali of Daharpur plus Dr. P. Ghosh (Allopath)
		38 Asthma	Dr. S. Dutta (Allopath) at Charitable Dispensary
20	Bansi do.	39 Acute labour pain	Offering of sweets to Kali, plus R. Acharya (Homeopath)

Serial No.	Name with caste	Disease (No. of cases)	Person consulted
21	Kusum do.	40 Fever with delirium	Dr. P. Ghosh (Allopath)
		41 Sudden injury and bleeding	Dr. B. Ghosh do.
		42 Measles	Offering sweets to Sitala, and he-goat to goddess Kali
22	Satya do.	43 Abcess	Dr. P. Ghosh (Allopath)
		44 Diarrhoea	R. Acharya (Homeopath)
		45 Pain in the chest	Dr. P. Ghosh (Allopath)
		46 High fever, supposed case of spirit possession	S. Das applied magical 'puffs'
		47 Pain in throat and mouth	Dr. P. Ghosh (Allopath)
23	Khagen do.	48 Labour-pain	Dr. P. Ghosh (Allopath)
24	Panchanan do.	49 Snake-bite	Dr. S. Datta, then to Hospital
25	Srihari do.	50 Cough, fever	A. Pal (Ayurvedic)
		51 Stomach trouble	U. Mishra (Homeopath)
		52 Toothache	Dr. Dutta (Allopath) Charitable Dispensary
		53 Chronic eye trouble	Offering of one he-goat - to goddess Kali of Daharpur
26	Kartik do.	54 Fever	U. Mishra (Homeopath)
		55 do.	do. and a garland and sweet offering to goddess Kali of Daharpur
27	Krishna do.	56 Tuberculosis	Dr. P. Ghosh (Allopath)
		57 Fever	Dr. B. Ghosh do.
28	Murali do.	58 Pneumonia	U. Mishra (Homeopath) and offering of a green coconut to Siva and one he-goat to Kali of Daharpur

Serial No.	Name with caste	Disease (No. of cases)	Person consulted
29	Satis do.	59 Influenza	R. Acharya (Homeopath)
		60 Tuberculosis	Dr. B. Ghosh (Allopath)
30	Kiran do.	61 Sudden pain in tooth	Dr. P. Ghosh (Allopath)
31	Gopal (Napit)	62 Chronic asthma	Dr. S. Dutta (Allopath) at Charitable Dispensary
		63 Fever	do.
32	Bama (Jugi)	64 General anasarca	Promised to be the <i>Bhakta</i> of Chandaneswar Siva of Orissa plus A. Pal (Ayurvedic) and Dr. P. Ghosh (Allopath)
33	Titaram do.	65 Sudden abortion, supposed case of spirit possession	S. Das applied magical 'puffs' offering of sweets to Kali, plus Dr. B. Ghosh (Allopath)
34	Mohanto do.	66 Fever	Dr. Dutta (Allopath) Charitable Dispensary
35	Sridam (Kamar)	67 Rheumatism	A. Pal (Ayurvedic)
		68 Influenza	R. Acharya (Homeopath)
		69 Diarrhoea	do.
36	Iswar (Dhopa)	70 Suspected case of cholera	S. Das for magical 'puffs' plus Dr. B. Ghosh (Allopath) and vowed to be served as <i>Bhakta</i> to Chandaneswar Siva
		71 do.	do.
		72 Fever	Promised to worship Hari with offering of sweet wafers
37	Panchanan (Bagal)	73 Fever	Magical 'puffs' by S. Das

getting the services of the magicians, the Ayurvedic physician and the local doctors, each of whom is paid according to the financial condition of the patients.

The physicians and the Gunnis or medicinemen have no caste prejudices. They attend and treat all cases with care and sincerity, whether the patients are untouchables, Adivasis

or upper caste Hindus. In such cases, the caste barrier is almost non-existent.

It has been noticed in many cases that a man takes the advice of the Doctor, as well as of the local Gunni, who often gives him a talisman to wear for cure.

The details of the attending physicians or medicinemen as well as the service pattern in respect of disease have been described in Tables 9 and 10 respectively.

During funeral rites, generally agnates, cognates and affines attend. Villagers belonging to lower castes, also come and help in cutting and collecting wood for the cremation. In most cases of the 'upper' castes, a *kirtan* party is invited to play on the *mridanga* and sing *kirtans*, invoking the name of Hari. In this village, the *kirtan* party consists of the members from Kayastha, Jugi and a Bagra-kshatriya castes. After the funeral rite, the participants are, in many cases, entertained with flattened rice and sweets. On the day of the purificatory ceremony, the Brahman priest is asked to perform the *Srāddha* ceremony. The *kirtan* party is also sometimes engaged to sing *kirtans* at that time. The BARBER has to pare the nails and shave the men and the WASHERMAN has to wash their clothes.

The village elders and the headman are also invited during the *Srāddha* and are presented with betel nuts as a mark of respect. Almost all important persons of the village and relations of the family of the deceased are invited. They receive honoraria and present.

A few artificial relations like the 'ceremonial son' or 'ceremonial daughter', who have been so adopted, are also invited to the function; and they usually bring with them presents in the form of various food articles or vegetables. In exchange of this, the head of the family of the deceased presents each with a new cloth, if his financial condition permits. Mutual exchange of articles in the form of presents on particular occasions by ceremonial friends and artificial kins is in vogue in the locality. They are invited on many occasions and consulted in critical cases. Satya Dolai, Bagra-kshatriya by caste, formed ceremonial friendship with Subodh Layek, Karan by caste, when they met each other

TABLE 11

Artificial friendship and relationship : Castes and villages involved

Sl. No.	Caste	Sex	Type of relationship.	Caste	Sex	Village
1	Brahman	M	Son	Sadgop	M	Daharpur
2	Sadgop	M	Son-in-law	Bagra-kshatriya	M	"
3	"	M	Friend	"	M	"
4	"	M	Daughter	Sadgop	F	"
5	"	M	Friend	Sadgop	M	Khelar
6	"	F	Friend	Sadgop	F	Belti
7	Jugi	M	Brother	Bagra-kshatriya	M	Pichabani
8	"	M	Friend	Kadma	M	Dantan
9	Bagra-kshatriya	M	Friend	Karan	M	"
10	"	M	Father	Sadgop	M	Senkhua
11	"	M	Friend	Mahishya	M	Dasagram
12	"	M	Friend	Bhumij	M	Pichabani

at Puri during pilgrimage. Both of them visit each other's house with presents of various kinds.

The establishment of artificial relationship, like friend/father/mother/son-in-law, etc. is in vogue in this village. Sometimes it is confined within the village among various castes and sometimes it spreads beyond the village boundary. These artificial kins participate in many a social and ritual celebrations. Table 11 shows the details of artificial kin relationship of the villagers, with their respective caste, sex, village and type of relationship.

Here the Brahman, Sadgop, Jugi and Bagra-kshatriya communities, both male and female, are involved in artificial relationship or friendship with people of the Sadgop, Bagra-kshatriya, Mahishya, Karan, Kadma and Bhumij communities of the same and distant villages. Four out of 12 relationships have been forged in the same village, as well as other villages, at distances of Belti (3 miles), Pichabani (1 mile), Senkhua (9 miles), Khelar (10 miles), Dasagram (12 miles) and Dantan (20 miles).

Now-a-days, invitation is also extended to Government officials on special occasions by the well-to-do caste Hindu population of the village. It is also becoming customary to do so in the case of other quasi-friends like the local mill manager, shopkeeper, etc.

In all ceremonial feasts, however, a Brahman cook is employed and he has to serve the invitees, for which he is paid in cash. A detailed account of the feasts and other entertainments for the period 1962-63 has been given in Table 12. Particulars of the caste affiliation of the hosts as well as invitees have also been included.

TABLE 12

Occasions of ceremonial feasts and castes of the invitees (1962-63)

Name with caste	Occasion	Invitees (caste only)
1 Phani (Brahman)	First rice eating ceremony (cooked rice)	All the clients of the village Daharpur
2 Pulin (Sadgop)	do	Brahman, Napit, Relatives, Bagra-kshatriya (selected family)

Name with caste	Occasion	Invitees (caste only)
3 Apurna (do)	Wedding feast (cooked rice)	All the villagers including Adiyasis, Government Officers, local Political Leaders
4 Matilal (do)	Manasa Puja (sweets and fruits only)	Brahman, a few Bagra- kshatriya and Lodha (agri-labourer)
5 Haripada (do)	Sasthi Puja, (sweets)	Brahman, villagers (selected few)
6 Kulabala (do)	do	do
7 Byomkesh (do)	Khamar Puja do	do
8 Hrishikesh (do)	Manasa Puja Khamar, do Goāl do	do
9 Anil (do)	Manasa do do	do
10 Ananta (do)	(a) Death Pollution and purificatory ceremony, feasts (cooked rice) (b) Jamai Sasthi	Services of Brahman, Dhopa, Napit, Villagers in general Sadgop, Bagra-kshatriya, Lodha (selected few)
11 Atul (do)	(a) Jamai Sasthi, (cooked rice) (b) Arandhan Sasthi (Soaked rice only)	Relatives concern Napit, Bagra-kshatriya and Sodgop (selected persons)
12 Khudi (Bagra- kshatriya)	Jamai Sasthi (cooked rice)	Relatives concerned, artificia relations also
13 Kartik (do)	Death pollution (cooked rice)	Villagers of the same caste only
14 Khagen (do)	Worship of Hari (Sweets only)	Brahman, Kirtan party, Villagers in general
15 Satya (do)	New rice eating (cooked rice)	Relatives, clans men agricultural labourers
16 Titaram (do)	Shiva Puja (sweets only)	Sadgops, Bagra-kshatriyas
17 Iswar (Dhopa)	Worship of Hari (sweets and fruits only)	Brahman, Kirtan party, Sadgop, Bagra-kshatriya (selected few)

Religious Observances

Religious observances are connected with the propitiation of deities and gods and goddesses. For this purpose, sometimes, worships are arranged in the village temple and shrines and the expenses are borne by the villagers in general. That is conducted by some of the important village elders, who are authorized to do so. The religious ceremonies may be grouped into two categories, namely, those organized by an individual on behalf of his family, and those organized by the villagers in common. Table 13 shows the details of the religious ceremonies arranged by the individuals and Table 14 describes the different worships and ceremonies organized jointly by the villagers.

TABLE 13

Religious Ceremonies (Caste Hindu Group)

Month	Ceremony	Purpose	Participation— Service
Asarh (May-June)	Ambubachi and Manasa Puja	To appease Manasa, the Deity of serpents	Brahman conducts, villagers invited
Asvina (Sept.-Oct.)	Nal Sankranti	To have bumper crop	Married, elderly persons participate
Kartik (Oct.-Nov.)	Go-Bandana	Cattle caressing	Brahman conducts
Agrahayan (Nov.-Dec.)	Nabanna	First new rice eating	Brahman conducts, friends and relatives invited
Paush (Dec.-Jan.)	Khamar Puja	To get more grains and trouble free cultivation	Brahman conducts, agricultural labours participate
Throughout the year	Lakshmi Puja	To have wealth	Brahman conducts

Besides these, occasional worships of Satyanarayan and Haripuja are held at short intervals, when a Kirtan party or Vaishnava mendicants join and in praise of Hari. Sometimes a Brahman conducts the ceremony when articles are purchased according to his direction. The BARBER also attends such

worship, and the villagers assemble at such places. Sometimes, consecrated wafers of sugar, *batasa*, are thrown amongst them. On the last day of Paush (December-January), the yearly *Srāddha* ceremony is arranged in honour of the ancestral spirits. Besides this, on the particular date of death, a *Srāddha* ceremony takes place in the name of the departed souls, up to two generations. Now-a-days, this observance is rarely held, as this can be performed more conveniently at Gaya, where the well to do villagers go on pilgrimage. After performing the ceremony at Gaya, nobody, is required to hold the *Srāddha* ceremony again at his residence.

There are occasional worships called *Kon Sasthi Puja*, which is performed by barren women, for a son. This is purely a feminine festival and the elderly women generally belonging to same caste of the village participate in it and conduct the ceremony.

During *Akkshya Trytia*, in the month of Vaisakh (April-May), the caste Hindu families, especially the well-to-do Sadgops of this village, presents in the form of new cloth, rice, vegetables, etc. to the Brahman and some cash as honorarium. Of course, this is not done by all families.

Manāsa Puja : This ceremony takes place on the 7th day of Asarh. Various articles required for the worship are purchased from the market. The Brahman attends and conducts the ceremony. A branch of *Manasa* plant is ceremonially placed on a brass plate in the open courtyard, and the ceremony starts. Friends and neighbours come and receive consecrated food or *prasad* or part of the offerings to the goddess. No ploughing is done on this particular day. It is believed that snakes will not harm if Manasa is propitiated properly.

Nalsankranti : This festival is celebrated on the last day of Asvina (September-October). The popular belief is that the paddy plants should be fed on this particular day, just as pregnant women are entertained by their relatives. After performing this, the cultivator expects a bumper crop. Reeds with leaves intact are collected by the head of the family on the previous day. Besides, he also collects

Banauj, meaning, forest produce, which are a combination of *neem* leaves, wild arum, ginger, plantain, turmeric, jute fibre, leaves of the peepal tree, straw particles from the thatch of the granary, etc. These things are made into a paste, or ground together in a husking lever by an elderly married man, and are handed over to the head of the family. The head of the family ties a bit of this with the leaves of the reed, and these are placed in the early morning in each field with the help of a batch of neighbouring peasants. During this celebration, riddle-like incantations are uttered, which are related to the blossoming of the paddy plants. Here the Sadgops and the Bagra-kshatriyas also participate in the celebration like a team. Sometimes, a villager entertains them by offering country cigarettes or tobacco. One of the reeds is also placed on the thatch of the hut, and another on the dais of the sacred basil plant.

Go-Bandana : This is sometimes called *Goāl Puja*, meaning worship of the cattle, and is held for the general welfare of cattle. Three earthen balls, made of hard clay, are placed on a plantain leaf. The Brahman priest attends with his *Salgram Sila*, and applies vermilion on the earthen balls representing the customary deities of the cowshed. Worship and propitiation take place at the cowshed. The horns of the cows are anointed with oil and turmeric paste, and vermilion and turmeric marks are made on the forehead of the cattle, including goats and sheep. Floral wreaths are placed on the shoulders of the animals. After propitiation, the Brahman receives his remuneration, including uncooked rice and vegetables and sweets. The animals are also fed with consecrated food.

Lakshmi Puja : This ceremony is held on each Thursday, for the propitiation of the Lakshmi, the Goddess of Wealth, by the caste-Hindu population of this village. There is a wooden seat, where three betel nuts are placed, smeared with vermilion and sandal paste on the grains. Basil leaves and *Durba* (grass) are also offered with these things. The betel nuts are supposed to represent the deity Lakshmi. On each Thursday, the Brahman priest performs the worship. A brass

pot is filled with water and mango twigs is placed on it, and the worship commences thereafter. After the performance, the Brahman goes away. Food articles, like, fruits, sweets, etc. are offered to those attending. In many cases, the remuneration for this purpose is paid annually, as in the case of Atul Chandra Pal, who pays one maund of paddy to the priest. In the same way, other villagers too remunerate the Brahman annually.

Nabaanna : This is the New Rice-eating ceremony. There are few fixed dates in Bengali almanac for this, of which one convenient date is observed. On this particular date, the head of the family purchases a few articles for the celebrations. These are generally made over to the family priest who conducts the ceremony. The Brahman worships the *Salgram Sila*, with the offerings of newly prepared sun-dried rice, coconut, plantain, grams, milk, etc. Sometimes, porridge is prepared with milk, sugar, coconut, and rice. A few friends and relatives are also invited on this occasion. The Brahman receives his remuneration, including all the articles offered to the deity. This ceremony is very common among the caste Hindu groups. It may be mentioned here that the Bagra-kshatriyas also celebrate this worship, but in very few instances do they invite their relatives.

Khamar Puja : This is also sometimes called *Sar Puja*. This ceremony is held by the villagers, specially in the houses of the caste-Hindu groups, as well as, in the houses of the Sadgops. Bagra-kshatriyas too were observed to hold this worship in few cases. On the last day of Paush (December-January), arrangement is made to cleanse all the agricultural implements, including the carrying baskets, weighing scales and stones. This threshing ground is washed with cowdung solution and all tools and implements placed there. The female members of the family prepare cakes of various kinds with ground sun-dried rice. Generally on the threshing ground, a big wooden pole is kept for threshing purposes, and all these articles are kept there for worship. Various figures of agricultural implements, bullocks, etc. are drawn with rice-paste on the floor. Then other articles of offering and worship,

are brought, which are previously purchased from the market, according to the direction of the Brahman priest. The worship of Lakshmi is performed by the priest. Vermilion marks are put on all the agricultural implements, on the granary, on the husking lever, etc. All who take part in agricultural operations, are invited. Grains are measured with a small bowl made of cane and these are then kept in the granary. The villagers then await the howling of the jackals from a certain direction. According to them, this indicates the direction of the first monsoon. The Brahman gets his remuneration in cash, varying from Re. 1 to Rs. 3, and all the articles offered to the deity are also presented to him. The agricultural labourers are entertained with cakes and a hearty meal.

On the last day of Chaitra, a special ceremony is held in the form of a communal feast. For this, puffed rice, *muri*, is pounded into powder. This is called *chhatu*, from which the name *Chhatu Sankranti* has been derived. Friends and relatives generally visit the house with some presentations in the form of garden product.

The various ceremonies stated above, are observed annually and individually, according to the tradition of the family concerned. The Brahman has a significant role to play in these ceremonies whether these are Brahmanical or regional in origin, and directs the religious life of the people. The financial condition of the individuals undoubtedly add to the glamour of the ceremonies, and contributions from various sources, in some form or other, help their smooth observance. Many villagers assemble at such ceremonies and enjoy them.

Besides these, individual religious observances, there are a few important worships or festivals celebrated by the villagers in common. In the village, there is a temple of Siva and another of Sitala. The temple priest regularly worships Siva and the Sitala is worshipped once annually. Table 14 gives details of the worships and celebrations organized by the different families in this village. In these, a concerted group action is manifested.

TABLE 14

Village worships and celebrations

Serial Number	Name of the worship	Date of celebration
1	Chandi	Asarh or Sravan
2	Sitala	Phalgun/Chaitra, Jaistha/Asarh
3	Kali	Phalgun
4	Siva	Chaitra

Organizational set-up and caste relations: For arranging these celebrations, a committee headed by the Mukhia or headman, Haripada Bhunia, who belongs to the Sadgop Caste, has been formed. There is a formal committee consisting of the Brahman priest of the village and other energetic young men who act as assistants, and are locally called *Atgharia*. One of the Atgharias is Kshudi Bhunia who belongs to Bagra-kshatriya caste.

This particular committee mainly arrange the worships of the Chandi, Siva and Sitala.

Now a few intelligent young men have organized another Kalipuja Committee (unregistered) of which Atul Chandra Pal is the Secretary. This particular Committee was established in the year 1952, and they collected Rs. 700 in the first year. They decided not to spend the money so collected, for some-time, and to create a general fund out of it, which may be given as loan to the villagers, on terms to be fixed by the Committee, at an interest of one anna (6 np.) per rupee per month i.e. 72 per cent per annum. This Committee has sometimes helped the villagers in times of need.

Features of the worships and the festivals: In all these worships, the Brahman priest, Phani Chakravarty, acts as the conductor. He prepares a list of offerings and fixes up a date for worship according to the convenience of the villagers. The headman fixes up the rate of subscriptions, which depend on the financial condition of the individual. All the collections are kept in the custody of the headman, who, in co-operation with his assistants, purchase various articles needed for the

worship and celebration. The BARBER also assists them. The Dom comes and plays his drums. Besides other people are also engaged for plucking flowers, decorating the Shrine, etc. according to the direction of the priest and the headman. On the whole, everything, connected with the celebration is arranged by the Committee.

Chandi : The village is named after the goddess Dahar Chandi who resides in her shrine in the outskirt of the village. There is one large stone slab. An image of the goddess has been engraved on it. There are many interesting and fascinating stories regarding her manifestation, her activities, and so on. She is worshipped once every year with great ceremony. Previously, goats were sacrificed to her. Now-a-days, a pumpkin is sacrificed instead of a goat.

On the first day of transplantation, a worship takes place. As an offering, porridge is cooked by the Brahman priest and thereafter it is distributed to the villagers. A few terracotta elephants and horses are offered as votive to her by villagers.

Saturday is thought to be the auspicious for her worship. The village priest worships her every day in the month of Vaishak (April-May) by offering flowers and water only. For this he enjoys a small plot of freehold land, which is part of the *Khas* land, dedicated in the name of the goddess by the local zemindar.

Sitala : Goddess Sitala of this village was previously the family deity of a Bagra-kshatriya, named Dinu Dolai. One stone image is regarded as the incarnation of the deity, and now this has been installed in the house of Phani Chakravarty. Occasionally she appears in dream before the priest or village elders, and sometimes warns them against some calamities like epidemic diseases, etc. which are likely to visit them. Her worship is held twice in a year, once in the month of Phalgun or Chaitra, and then in the month of Jaistha or Asarh. A few villagers, gave some lands, which the village priest enjoys now. No resistance is offered by the higher castes to offering gifts to the deity by the lower caste people.

Kalipuja : It is now arranged by a new Committee, and

held in the month of Phalgun, on a Saturday, which is thought to be convenient. The Kalipuja Committee, as usual, collects donations for the celebration, and arranges everything needed for it. Every year, a few goats are sacrificed in the name of the deity. The BARBER acts as ceremonial sacrificer of the goats. Besides this, arrangements are made for marrying and relaxation. Fireworks are displayed and country-made liquor is consumed by many on this occasion.

Gajan or Charak Festival: The Siva temple is regarded as one of the oldest temple in this village. It is said that this temple was established about 150 years ago by a rich man, named Kamal Santra. He brought the phallic image of Siva from Banaras, and made a gift of a few bighas of land. After the establishment of the temple, he introduced the Gajan Festival in this village, in which many people, known temporarily as Bhaktas or 'devotees' participate. After a few years of pompous celebration, this festival took a different shape. At a certain time, thereafter, due to prevalence of malaria and epidemic influenza, most of the villagers died or fled elsewhere. But recently, it has recovered its importance and is now held with pomp.

Sixteen Bhaktas are recruited from various caste and community groups for the Gajan every year. They have to lead an austere life and refrain from sexual indulgence during this period.

This festival continues for 9 days, and ends on the last day of Chaitra.

A Committee has been formed to organize and conduct this festival, with Anil Chandra Pal, a Sadgop, as President and Atual Chandra Pal, as Secretary. Phani Chakravarty is the ex-officio priest and member of the Committee.

There is a customary rule that at least one caste Hindu family will send one Bhakta for the Gajan. Others are recruited from the so-called 'lower castes' and the Adivasis, like the Mundas. There are a few other formalities in this celebration. These are as follows: fuel for the ceremony has to be provided for 9 days. The Bhaktas have to walk upon

the burning wood barefooted. These are generally supplied by the Lodhas. The Hadis have to beat the drums. Poles are fixed for displays, and this is done by the Mundas. The caste Hindu population, as well as other families contributes from 50 nP. to Rs. 6 each, for the festival. On the last day, a temporary fair is held.

The Bhaktas, before showing various feats like piercing their tongues with a nail, or boring their backs with a needle, are offered a new cloth and a garland each.

Sixteen Bhaktas are required for the full team, but there are usually more people who offer to be *Mānat* Bhaktas, as, in most cases, they taken a vow to that effect.

Songs are sung in praise of Siva or Mahadeva during the Gajan. In the year 1962, the following persons were recruited as Bhaktas.

TABLE 15
Particulars of the Bhaktas (1962)

Serial Number	Name	Caste	Special designation
1	Kshudiram	Sadgop	Raja Bhakta (Head of the team)
2	Haripada	„	Deulia Bhakta Asst. to the head
3	Amulya	„	Ordinary Bhakta
4	Debipad	„	„
5	Anil	„	„
6	Suren	Bagra-kshatriya	„
7	Khandu	„	„
8	Amulya Dolai	„	„
9	Kshudiram Dolai	„	„
10	Amulya Bhunia	„	„
11	Kachi	„	„
12	Kshudi Bhunia	„	„
13	Panchanan	„	„
14	Mahendra	Bagal	„
15	Sudhir	„	„
16	Panchanan	„	„

A few persons were observed to act as Bhakta continuously for more than 21 years. Besides these, about 20 Mundas participated as *Mānat* Bhakta, i.e., they offered themselves as Bhakta, as their vows had been fulfilled. Most of the Mundas were heavily drunk.

Saraswati Puja is organized by the teachers and the students of the Primary School. Villagers irrespective of caste and communities participate in it.

The religious life and the festival life of the villagers coincide together in such festivals, revealing a concerted group life. On such occasions, individual status, demarcation of caste, rivalry and other barriers melt away, and a new outlook of social collaboration is in operation. Individuals come in close contact with each other, and sometimes with people coming from outside to watch the celebrations. Thus not only the spirit of group action is developed, but also new friendships are forged and social relationships established. This further promotes inter-relations, which take the shape of artificial friendship between individuals and a more well-knit social life.

Social Sanctions

The type of concerted group life, as revealed in the festival cycle of these people, is also manifested in the political organization of the village. A few cases cited below, will substantiate this statement.

On the day of commencement of the Gajan Festival, held simultaneously with the worship of Siva, no one of the village is allowed to plough his field or do the same in the fields of others. This is strictly prohibited. But Shambhu Singh, a Munda living in this village, was found to plough at this time. This matter was reported to the village elders who were at that time in the temple compound of Siva. They, at once, directed some young men to seize all his agricultural implements and to bring him forcibly before them immediately, for taking suitable punishment. This was done promptly, and the Committee, as well as the villagers who congregated there, rebuked him for his misdeed, and imposed on him the penalty

of raising mud wall near the temple, at his own cost. He admitted his guilt, and carried out the directive of the Council.

In the same village, Banerwar Mahapatra, Sadgop by caste, did not invite the village elders, constituting the traditional Village Panchayat, and show respect to them at the time of marriage ceremony of his younger brother. Again, Banerwar also did not invite his neighbours at the purificatory ceremony, after the death of his father-in-law. The villagers ostracised him, by denying him the services of the Brahman priest, the WASHERMAN and the BARBER. For two years, he had to go the hair-cutting saloon and the laundry in the market for these services, much to his inconvenience. But last year, when his family held a wedding ceremony, the village elders, to make him submit, were determined to breaking up the marriage negotiation. He was very much afraid of the consequences, and made a compromise with them, by paying Rs. 40 as subscription to the Kalipuja Committee, and invited all the village elders according to the local custom.

About 10 years ago, the village watchman, a Lodha by caste, was found to steal toddy from a tree belonging to another man, and was caught red-handed by others, while doing so. He was summoned on the next day by the villagers, who beat him severely as punishment for his misdeed, and imposed a fine of Rs. 40. He paid this by selling his cattle.

Compromise in caste demarcation: The villagers have gradually shaken off much of their caste prejudices, as will be revealed by the following facts. The Bagra-kshatriyas of this village were not allowed previously to dine in the same row with higher castes in any ceremony. They also did not invite the caste Hindus in their ceremonies. This was due to the so-called 'low' social status of this community. But about five years ago, some of the well-to-do Bagra-kshatriyas invited the Caste Hindu Sadgops and the Kayasthas in some of their festivals. On one such occasion, when Khudi Dolai, Bagra-khatriya by caste, made arrangements for his daughter's marriage, and invited his Caste Hindu neighbours to

entertain them, the Council of the elders met to decide whether they should attend or not. The Council discussed the question and thought that as the Bagra-kshatriyas are important members of the Kalipuja Committee, and as the country, after Independence, is trying to remove with caste barriers, they would accept the invitation. But before accepting the invitation, the Council formally requested Khudi Dolai to pay Rs. 50 as royalty to the village elders, as they are doing away with the traditional disabilities, and obliging the lower caste people by dining at their homes. Khudi Dolai paid the sum immediately, and invited all the villagers. All invitees, including the Caste Hindu Sadgops attended, and took food at his house, which, however, was cooked and served by a Brahman. After this, there have been many occasions when the Bagra-kshatriya invited the Caste Hindu Sadgops, after paying Rs. 50 as royalty to the Village Council.

Recent Changes :

After Independence, three General Elections have taken place, in which adults, irrespective of caste, creed and sex, have exercised their franchise, and cast votes in favour of the candidates of their choice. Various political parties, e.g., Congress, Praja Socialist Party, Communist Party, etc. frequently sent their representatives to this village for campaigning on behalf of their own candidates. During this period, the villagers had the opportunity to mix with various people of socially advanced groups who came there for party work. Further, various Development Projects have been implemented in this area, and many Government officials now frequently visit the village. Villagers are also helped by the Village Level Workers in cultivating their lands by scientific method. General attention is paid to educate the younger generations in a better way, which is being encouraged by all guardians. The keen interest taken by all villagers, irrespective of caste, has resulted in the establishment of a Free Primary School and a club named Hitarthi Sangha. It is important to note here that Batakrishna Babu, Sadgop

by caste, has engaged a teacher for his children, and for the organization of Sangha and provided him with boarding facilities besides giving his usual remuneration. Other well-to-do persons are employing tutors for their children now.

Two years ago a Girls' High School was established in Narayangarh. Six girls of this village have taken admission in the school, and are now reading in Classes V-VII. This is a new and very encouraging trend in village life that girls are sent to school for education. Last year, two boys of this village, one belonging to the Sadgop caste, and the other belonging to the Jugi caste, have taken admission in a Degree College.

Last year, election of the Village Panchayat took place and villagers decided to send representatives from various caste groups jointly without any contest. The well-to-do Sadgops and Bagra-kshatriyas of this village approached the Lodhas and the Mundas too, who also supported them spontaneously. Table 16 depicts the details of Panchayat members with their caste affiliation. The Lodhas did not like to participate in it.

TABLE 16

Members of Daharpur Village Panchayat (1962)

Name	Designation	Caste
1 Atul Chandra Pal	Adhyaksha	Sadgop
2 Satya Charan Dolai	Upadhyaksha	Bagra-kshatriya
3 Anil Charan Pal	Member	Sadgop
4 Phani Bhusan Chakravarty	„	Brahman
5 Iswar Sit	„	WASHERMAN
6 Sridam Rana	„	BLACKSMITH
7 Phakir Singh	„	Munda (Adivasi)
8 Suklal Singh	„	„
9 Gurkha Singh	„	„

On their part, the Caste Hindu groups extended them their co-operation in securing them daily necessities for the villagers by organizing *Hitarthi Sangha* of which Atul

Chandra Pal (Sadgop) as secretary. Land for this Sangha was donated by Ananta Kumar Pal, and a decent hut has been constructed on it with the help of all the villagers, including the tribals. This club has a radio set and a good number of books and periodicals forms its library. Besides these, a portion of this hut is used for indoor games and music. The Mundas also participate in indoor games, but very few Lodhas seem to feel interested.

The Kalipuja Committee, formed earlier is now regarded as old and outmoded, and not suited to serve the present requirements of the people in post-Independence days. They are trying to develop recreational facilities for the people through this Club. Important Government officials like, the District Magistrate, the Subdivisional Officer, the Block Development Officer and the Social Education Officer often come to this Club, and contact the village elders. Some Test Relief Schemes were sanctioned by the District Magistrate, which provided employment to the labourers of this area belonging to various castes. For this, plans were drawn up in collaboration with the village elders, or Pradhans of the Village Panchayat, and the Village-Level Worker. The Social Education Officer of this Block patronised these types of activities and recommended a grant of Rs. 550 for allotment by the Government, this year, for the development of this Club. The members of the Club also requested Sm. Amodini Pal, who is a childless widow and possesses considerable wealth, to make a handsome donation to the Club. For her qualities of character and sympathetic attitude to all castes and communities, she is respected by all in this locality. Sm. Pal contributed a large sum voluntarily, and a football tournament has been started by the Club with this contribution. The tournament has been named "Amodini Running Shield Competition," with Sri Hrishi Kesh Maiti, Sodgop, as its Secretary. Pamphlets on various social works undertaken are being distributed amongst the people from time to time to inform and create interest in them. Many football teams from various localities participate in the tournament regularly. The Lodhas have jointly formed a team, with some other youngmen of this village, and are

trying their best to keep the the prestige of the village by winning the games.

Table 17 describes the details of the football teams participating in it and Table 18 shows the particulars of the village team.

TABLE 17

Name of the team participating (1962)

Serial No.	Name	Locality	Distance in miles
1	Hitarthi Sangha	Daharpur	0
2	Joy Hind	Andhariabhera	$\frac{1}{2}$
3	Monoranjan Football team	Binisa	1
4	Recreation Club	Mokrapur	$1\frac{1}{2}$
5	Pallimangal	Pichhabani	1
6	Agantuk	Chhatribhera	$1\frac{1}{2}$
7	Jana Kalyan Club	Bahurupa	2
8	Sabuj Sangha	Talaria	3
9	Kalapahar	Saluka	2
10	Ban Chandi Club	Baramkala	3
11	Kajla Football team	Kajla	3
12	Deshbandhu Club	Belti-Benai	3
13	Kisore Sangha	Dhipur	4
14	Suhrid Sangha	Bankibazar	5
15	Nimai Sangha	Jangichak	6
16	Sitala Football team	Mirzapur	6
17	Chandi Sports	Bhetia	8
18	Black Arrow	Ranisarai	10
19	Dakshin Samabesh	Khargpur	12
20	Milan Samiti	Walipur	13
21	New Light	Barakola	14

It took 3 months to complete the tournament. Final game was played between Dakshin Samabesh and Recreation Club. The Recreation Club of Mokrapur won the shield. Sub-Divisional Officer of Midnapur Sadar south, presided over the

function and distributed the prizes. This has practically changed some outlook of the villagers. The participation of other villages with their respective teams in it is also significant.

TABLE 18

Players of Hitarthi Sangha with their caste affiliation

Serial No.	Name	Caste	Special designation
1	Pulin Behari Pal	Sadgop	Captain
2	Apurna Kumar Pal	do	Player
3	Purna Chandra Bera	do	do
4	Gourhari Paria	do	do
5	Ajit Kumar Pal	do	do
6	Byomkesh Maiti	do	do
7	Dinanath Dolai	Bagra-kshatriya	do
8	Sudhir Digar	Lodha	do
9	Baku Bhakta	do	do
10	Banchu Bhakta	do	do
11	Gostha Digar	do	do

The Lodhas and the Mundas live along the periphery. The Tribal Welfare Department of the Government of West Bengal has already started a rehabilitation centre there for the Lodhas, and many interested people participate in it for the benefit of the village, as a whole. The sponsors of this rehabilitation scheme have started another Social Education Centre, for the Mundas, on the other side of the village. The Caste Hindu groups at present show interest in these works and they have come forward to *work* amongst these tribals. But most of the Mundas do not tract the Caste Hindu elders, who had in the past, deceived and exploited them. But these Caste Hindu people now seem want to work sincerely amongst them. They know that cheap labour or high interest, etc. should not, in any way, be received from these tribals, as their economic condition has to be improved for the general progress of this area.

The Lodhas and the Mundas now can get loans and paddy seeds, at a low rate of interest from the Rehabilitation Centre ;

and so they very rarely go to the caste Hindu neighbours in times of their need. This has indirectly caused some sort of jealousy between the Adivasis and the other caste groups. Caustic remarks are often made by the Caste Hindu groups against the tribals in this connection. In a few cases, small dacoities or petty thefts, etc. are attributed to the activities of the Lodhas, who are then harrassed in many ways by the police though the Caste Hindu groups pretend as if they do not know all these things.

This sort of mixed attitude, like outward sympathy and inward jealousy, of the 'upper' and 'lower' caste prosperous people towards the Adivasis, is expressed in many ways in their daily activities.

General Observation :

The villagers, as a multi-ethnic unit have to reciprocate services and co-operate with the various castes and communities in a traditional social system. The Caste Hindu groups have more landed property, and they do not plough or even do manual labour. Water supply and topography are not in favour of continuous agriculture throughout the year, in this area. So the crops grown here are not adequate to meet local needs. Caste Hindus who own land, do not take any interest in gardening or horticulture, to meet their own requirements, as was evident from a study of their daily life. For agricultural purposes, they employ labours. Permanent and seasonal employment of agricultural labourers are made by the caste Hindu families, and the recruitment is made from the locality, irrespective of castes and communities. For their service, the employees are paid in cash, and provided with free lodging. They are even entertained in the families, in many of their ceremonies. Due to the establishment of rice-mills in this locality recently, the poorer people are getting more scope for employment, and also monetary assistance from the Government and other landholders, as loan, at a cheaper rate of interest now. Thus the employment of the villagers on cheap wages, has diminished very largely, but the want of agricultural labourers has been compensated by the *Pachhiali Munis*,

or 'working men coming from the West,' consisting of Santals, Mundas, Hadis, Bhumijas and others. So the normal economic activities and the interest of the high caste people are less affected.

Demands on the services of BARBER, WASHERMAN, BLACKSMITH, etc. have also lessened, as has been described earlier. They are not called frequently except during the celebrations of rituals. But the Brahman still has a superior status, and by regularly worshipping the Goddess Lakshmi on each Thursday in different houses, he gets more money now, and has more influences on the caste and communities. So his position is more or less secured, as it is associated with the magico-religious life.

In the above setting, the Brahman gets special prestige and status, and his relation with the villagers, in general, is such that he does not have to face any rivalry or criticisms by other groups. He also advises the villagers to read *Lakshmi Charitra*, *Batris Singhasan*, *Sishubodhak*, etc., in all of which, the importance of worship and effect of propitiation is extolled and in these the observation of Days and *Bratas* with due rituals is emphasized ; the supremacy and the exploits of the Brahmans have been exaggerated. The so-called 'lower' castes do not get the services of the Brahman, on each Thursday for the Lakshmi Puja. The women as well as the majority of the males, do not know how to read these books, which are current in the villages for the purposes of worship. As a result, the malefolk, who can do so, themselves propitiate the Goddess, by reading those books and chanting hymns, on each Thursday. In this way, the older tradition is being continued upto now, to some extent, without coming into any conflict with the present problems. The services of the labourers, or other people like WASHERMAN, BARBER, BLACKSMITH have already crossed the village limit. As they do not get any sort of resistance from the areas they visit on account of the essential nature of their services, they can easily adjust themselves with the changing economy and social settings in the place of their migration, or shifting.

In respect of status-caste relationship, there has also occurred a change amongst the Adivasis, as they are now being patronized by the Government and other organization. Ultimately, these tribal people will not probably come for any assistance to the higher caste people, who are still called 'Bangali Babus.' The Caste Hindu groups also have reoriented their attitude towards these people, and encourage them now to join their functions and ceremonies, and give them advice in many of their problems. Besides these, they have to depend on the votes of these people during elections, for election to the Panchayat, in order to maintain their socio-political status. As the old pattern has been uprooted and a new society is emerging now in its place, it is useless to decry it as bad or harmful. So this new social relationship with the tribals and other lower caste people have taken the form of inter-caste dining, etc., which has basically changed the older social system and co-operation patterns of the villagers. The older generation is in conflict with the new, and are trying desperately, to bring in an adjustment, in stages, sometimes holding important posts as office bearers in various committees, while the younger generation entirely support and want the change. They are now accustomed to reading in the same school with the low caste or tribal boys; acquiring new ideas and aspirations from the books and lessons. They are seen to observe and examine various economic, social, political and religious ceremonies, and the various concerted group actions, in many other spheres of life. Thus the traditional old pattern of relationship is fading away fast, it has created a crisis amongst the older generation, which, in course of time, will go altogether.

Participation in Independence Day celebrations, Saraswati Puja, and other village festivals, etc. in the religious sphere, and introduction of laundry, saloons, restaurants, schools and clubs and shops of consumer stores, and the successive elections in this area, have contributed together towards re-orientation of the attitude and service patterns of the village, and changed the reciprocal behaviour patterns of the people.

FACTION SITUATION AT BRAHMINPURA

P. N. RASTOGI

(Received on 6 July, 1963)

FRACTIONS have widely been observed as a structural feature of Indian village society. (Lewis 1954, Firth 1957, Dube 1958, Singh 1959 among others) Zaidi reports the same to be the case with rural community in Pakistan (1962 : 20). Barth has noted 'intensive factionalism' among Pathans (1959 : 11). Formulations in this context, however, differ significantly. For Lewis, factions are semi-permanent groups based on caste and kin ties. The term *faction* for him does not denote only opposite or hostile relations ; inter-factional relations may according to him, embrace co-operative, economic, social and ceremonial relations as well. Singh fully supports this position. Firth and Pocock, however, refute this view. For Pocock then element of conflict is the necessary characteristic of factions, and they are not inherently related to caste. They are rather composite interest groups secondary in nature to kin and lineage. As for duration, they last only as long as the particular interests and possibilities of conflict in a village remain the same. Dube (1961) seems to uphold this view. Siegel and Beals, on the other hand, regard factionalism as describing not one but at least three types of conflict between parties or interest groups, conflict between cohesive sub-groups within a larger group, both termed as *schismatic factionalism*, and the third *pervasive factionalism*, recognizable when the composition of factions changes rapidly and radically (1960 : 94). These differing points of view only indicate that there is a vital need for studying various types of faction situations under several types of social settings. In the present paper, I have tried to explore what appears to me a faction-situation in the making.

Pertinent to my thematic approach is the concept of dominant caste (Srinivas 1959). It emphasizes a significant aspect of power and leadership relations in many Indian villages. At Brahminpura, Shukla, a Brahmin sub-caste is the dominant caste. The situation here, however, diverges from other reported patterns in so far as the contours of faction groupings are not as yet explicit. The elements of conflict are present, but apparently not to a degree leading to the emergence of well-defined factions. As many elements of tension and dissension multiply, the process of factionalism may become more explicit.

The village of Brahminpura (a pseudonym) is situated at a distance of five miles from a town of eastern U. P. The total population of this village is about 550 (in the year 1962) formed by thirteen castes. There are no Muslims. It is preponderantly populated by Brahmins who constitute about 50% of its population. There are three sub-castes among Brahmins, namely Shukla, Tiwari and Mishra. Of these Shuklas are the most numerous (42 households in a total of 91), the number of Tiwari and Mishra households being only 2 and 6 respectively. They are followed by the Bhar, a low caste of agricultural labourers (16 households) and the Ahir (8 households). In Table 1, the castes have been classified according to their occupation, number of households and adult members in each. The position of the caste in the series is in accordance with its rank in the hierarchy.

TABLE 1

Households and occupation of castes in Brahminpura

No.	Caste	Occupation	No. of households	No. of persons
1	Shukla	Land-owning, cultivation, money-lending	42	252
2	Tiwari	Priesthood, teaching	2	9
3	Mishra	Cultivation	6	36
4	Bania	Grocery business	1	5
5	Sunar	Goldsmithy	2	10

No.	Caste	Occupation	No. of households	No. of persons
6	Teli	Oil-pressing	2	12
7	Anir	Milk-selling and cultivation	8	56
8	Thathera	Vessel-making	3	15
9	Kumhar	Pottery manufacture	1	6
10	Nai	Haircutting and ritualistic functions	2	11
11	Kahar	Domestic service, field labour	6	40
12	Bhar	Field labour	10	60
13	Chamar	Skinning, tanning and field labour	6	36
Total 13			91	548

Shuklas are the locally dominant caste here. Srinivas identifies four major elements of dominance: numerical strength, economic and political power, ritual status, western education and occupations. He understands that these elements are usually distributed among different castes in a village and that only a caste enjoying all or most of them can have decisive dominance. Shuklas in the present context are characterized by each of these major elements of dominance. They are numerically preponderant in the village and enjoy high economic and ritual status. Descendants of a rich landlord family, they are related to each other through descent and kinship. After the abolition of zamindari, they have become substantive farmers owning on an average more than 25 *bighas* of land per family. They also own property and lend money. Many educated youngmen of the community are gainfully employed in urban vocations. Besides them, Mishras and Ahirs are the only landowners; but their holdings are meagre, not being more than two to four *bighas* per household. As regards ritual rank, Mishras and Tiwaris enjoy a comparable status but they are economically poorer. Other caste groups in the village are to a greater or lesser extent dependent upon the patronage of the dominant caste. Ahirs and Thatheras are in comparison economically independent, but they too need the goodwill of Suklas in their life in the community.

Stratification according to status is evident in yet another way. The religious and ceremonial needs of the villagers are served by the two Tiwaris. One of them is more learned and respected. He officiates exclusively at the functions of Shuklas, while the other one is available to the rest of the villagers. Similarly, they have their own *nais* or BARBERS. Shuklas are also superior to the rest in the matter of education, and this gives the group an added prestige in the community.

In the past, quarrels and disputes in the village have invariably been brought to Shukla elders for solution and when any of them has made a pronouncement or taken up a position, the whole group lends support. Among the cases referred to Shuklas are : theft of crops among Mishras and Ahirs, decisions regarding wrestling contests between Ahirs and others ; and petty offences committed by Bhars and Chamars. At times the crops of Shuklas themselves are stolen by poor people including some Mishras. In such cases, threats and warnings are sufficient. One Mishra household has earned a bad reputation for the last three years. One of its members was caught red-handed while stealing in a field at night. Social intercourse with this family has been tabooed since then and in consequence they look for association with Ahirs rather than with persons of their own rank. Shuklas are also highly conscious of their prestige in relation to other castes and maintain a marked distance from them.

The above state of affairs makes it fairly clear that castes other than Shuklas are relatively unimportant ; they do not enjoy power or participate in decision-making in the village. They appear to be powerless by themselves ; therefore they are involved in village politics through their affiliation with households belonging to the dominant caste. Hence actual or potential factions would appear to arise out of tensions among members of the dominant caste. The relations among Shuklas till quite recently have been oriented around two focal considerations : maintenance of their position of prestige and power relative to other castes and their own ties of kinship. Accordingly, there have been in operation among them certain norms of caste solidarity. If there are internal

tensions, they are resolved by their own elders. If other groups are also involved, they solidly stand behind the decision of their own elders.

The above state of affairs has, however, been subjected to serious stresses as a result of new political and economic forces, especially since Independence. The lure of new opportunities in towns when resources are limited and pressure of population high in the village, has favoured the growth of individualism. Personal interests and ambitions are becoming progressively more important in Brahminpura.

A powerful impetus towards this tendency has been provided by education. Education has always been looked upon by villagers with a certain feeling of reverence. Although western education was regarded as *bad* as it turned people's heads, yet it exercises a sort of glamour and mystery. It has acquired an added value as it alone opens the portals of 'new' urban occupations which carry influence and high emoluments. Brahmins have ever regarded education as their prerogative, and two families sent their youngmen for higher education to colleges twenty years ago. After completion of their education, these youngmen secured employment as teachers and government servants and thus added to the status of their respective families. Other Shukla households also followed suit and in course of the last one and a half decade it has meant a growing contact with the outside world.

The General Elections and Panchayat Elections have further added to the new trends. Outsiders have now begun to influence the course of political events in the village. They try to secure votes, become involved in changing group loyalties, and thus indirectly strain the village's erstwhile solidarity. The 'elders' are losing their previous positions of power and prestige in consequence.

The first major sign of this appeared about seven years ago when a property dispute split the Shukla group into two. Following the death of their father two brothers quarrelled over the the division of land. The elders of the community could not arbitrate successfully and matters came to a head with a violent quarrel. A costly but inclusive litigation

followed lasting for more than a year. This was the first instance of its kind in the history of the village. Eventually, the wisdom of the elders prevailed and the matter was settled out of court.

During this dispute and litigation, villagers were forced to take one side or another and a clear cut polarization hitherto unknown emerged. Ahirs and most of the Mishras were drawn together on one side, while Kahars, Bhars and Chamars were divided in terms of patron-client ties.

This affair was no sooner settled than another one sprang up. It too centred round a dispute over property between two brothers, but the complexion of issue on this occasion was different. In this case, division of property and formal separation had already taken place. The elder brother was regarded as a clever but spendthrift person. He laid claim to two bighas of land in the possession of his younger brother. The mediation of the elders was of no avail and the matter went to court. In this case, the issue was clear and the majority took the side of the younger brother who won the case. Nevertheless, the significant fact remains that the elder brother was able to muster the support of about fifty persons in the village. Of these, twenty were Shuklas and the rest belonged to other castes, especially Ahirs and Mishras. The elder brother had hoped to win the case because of his fancied ability in dealing with officials, on the one hand, and by bribing the villagers on the other through promises of help in city matters because of his 'contacts'. A few Shuklas who supported him were grateful to him for help in these respects, while Mishras and Ahirs who had so long been under domination wanted to have a say in the affairs of the dominant caste, especially when a prominent member among them openly courted them with promises of future assistance, and it was also 'safe' to do so.

The implications here are pregnant with significance. They point to the emergence of new structural principles in the social organization of the village. On the one hand, the solidarity of the dominant caste is slowly but surely crumbling down, while on the other economically independent castes

also tend to assert themselves in village affairs. The two lines of change are interrelated : the intra-group dissension among the dominant caste increases the significance of other caste groups when there is a struggle for power in the village.

This observation was confirmed by an analysis of Panchayat Elections. In the first Panchayat election of 1949, the selection of candidates was unanimous, and the Shukla community put up a united show. In the 1957 elections, however, the picture was different. An elder uncle was opposed by his nephew for the post of Pradhan or President of panchayat. Outsider took a keen interest in this election. Some members of the community tried hard to persuade the nephew to step down in favour of his uncle who was an elderly and respected figure. The nephew refused, and was eventually, defeated by a margin of more than a hundred votes. The significant point here is not the fact of the nephew's defeat, but rather the fight that he put in which he secured about 120 votes as against 230 secured by his uncle, and his refusal to step down in latter's favour. This time too Ahirs and most of the Mishras supported the nephew against the major segment of the Shukla community. The nephew was careful to solicit their support. Votes for the Shuklas came on the basis of personal ties and outside pressure while those of the Kahar, Bhar and Chamar were again split up in terms of patron-client ties. Other caste minorities managed to stay neutral and warded off various types of pressures.

The above events furnish indications of the growing schisms in a community which would have been improbable only about fifteen years ago. Other caste groups hitherto dormant and submissive are likely to play a more articulate part in the village affairs, leading to defined faction situations. Alignments in such situations are, however, apt to be oriented more in terms of the personal interest of the individuals rather than of their caste affiliation. Bhars, Kahars and Chamars incline towards those patrons who give them land for cultivation and better material benefits. For others, interest and obligations are in the nature of securing educational facilities, fee concessions, provision for accommodation,

securing employment etc. in town. These new interests are not exclusive to any caste but shared by several castes in common.

Cleavages in Brahminpura thus do not appear to reveal a caste pattern. Castes, both upper and lower, have split up on the basis of differences of interest. This split as well as shifting alignments are explicable in terms of the individual's concern for 'selfish' ends. The trend is apt to be evidenced yet more clearly during the land-consolidation programme when scattered land-holdings are adjusted, resulting in sharp differences among their owners. In such a tension-laden setting, one's gain would be interpreted to be at the cost of another, a prime characteristic of many faction situations. Meaningful implications in this context also follow in regard to the recruitment of personnel into actual or potential factions. The latter are more likely to be multi-caste groupings in the nature of being composite interest-groups rather than groups differentiated exclusively along caste and kin ties.

Thus we observe in Brahminpura, a faction situation in the making. Factionalism, as a social process, presupposes for its operation certain concomitants characterizing a faction situation. In the present village, these concomitants are seen to be gradually forming under the impact of new social forces.

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THE HOLY ROUND OF KUKA MARRIAGES

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THE Namdharis (Kukas) are an orthodox sect of Sikhs. The principles of their teachings are monotheistic and moral. They have a unique and distinctive record of sacrifices made and services rendered in the cause of Indian freedom. ('The truth is that it is not possible for a Kuka to be a loyal subject of the British Government'—*Ludhiana Gazetteer*, 1904, p. 30). At the same time, they have succeeded in bringing about a number of social reforms. They do not believe in caste restrictions. Their womenfolk enjoy equal rights. They are enjoined upon to adhere to the cult of Swadeshi. On marriage and other occasions, no Namdhari is allowed to spend more than Rs. 13. Kuka marriages are perhaps the cheapest in the world.

The writer happened to be in Ferozepore District on the occasion of the *Anand Karaj* and had the chance to see all this himself. On June 2 and 3, 1963, the village Khote (Ferozepore District), 21 miles east of Moga, was busy with a bee-hive activity because about 5,000 Namdharis or Kukas had thronged to the village not only from every part of the country but also from distant lands such as Africa and Thailand.

The Namdharis celebrated the centenary celebration of the *Anand Karaj* or the *Anand* on June 3, the major reform in the marriage ceremony which they have introduced in their sect. One hundred years ago, on this very day, Shri Satguru Ram Singh, the founder of the sect, had performed first six *Anand* marriages in Khote in the teeth of opposition from orthodox Brahmans who used to extract big amounts and also encouraged wasteful ceremonies.

As many as 149 marriages were performed in about two hours on a single day by the present Guru, Shri Satguru Jagjit

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Singh, the fourth Guru in the Namdhari line. To avoid confusion, the brides and bridegrooms were awarded serial numbers. There were as many as 105 marriage parties from the Punjab ; Delhi accounted for 15 and Himachal Pradesh 10, while the numbers from Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Bombay, West Bengal, Thailand and Africa were 5, 3, 2, 3, 3, 2 and 1 respectively.

The marriage ceremony was a simple affair. There was the *hawan* (offering oblations to consecrated fire) and recitation of seven *lanwas* (hymns) and the *ardas* (prayer). The brides and bridegrooms, clad in white, were then given the *amrit* (consecrated water). *Shri Guru Granth Sahib* was brought in the *Diwan* and the knot-tying ceremony took place. One end of a long piece of white cloth held by the groom was tied to an end of a similar cloth held by the bride.

Around the *hawan*, *vedi* (*mandap*) was fixed. The couples were made to go round it four times anti-clockwise. With these circumambulations four *lanwas* (special hymns for this purpose) were recited from the *Shri Granth Sahib*. On the completion of this ceremony, *Anand* (a prayer chapter of the *Granth Sahib*) was recited, and *ardas* was offered again and thus 149 brides and bridegrooms each were bound in wedlock.

While the ages of the brides were over 14, the bridegrooms were 18 or upwards as these were the ages fixed by the late Guru Partap Singh, the third Guru in the Namdhari line. The brides' faces were not covered. The bride in the *Anand Karaj* is also prohibited from wearing any gold ornament.

There was no question of caste restriction, dowry, etc., because in the matter of marriage they do not believe in caste and because in marriage both the parties of bride and bridegroom are not allowed to spend more than Rs. 13. Out of this sum of Rs. 13, eight rupees are paid to the Guru's treasury by the father of the bridegroom while five rupees are paid by the bride's father, for the Namdhari Sangat has to pay to the *ragi* (musician), meet the expenditure of *hawan*, the *parshad*, etc. In case the parties are poor, nothing is charged and the entire expenditure is borne by the Sangat. According to another convention, the Guru would



Procession of Newly-wed Sikhs of the Namdhari Sect at Khote in Ferozepur District

not accept an offering of more than one rupee from the relatives of the parties and others on the auspicious day of the *Anand Karaj*.

According to the Guru's order, the bride goes straight to the bridegroom's house after marriage, stays there for 15 days and then returns to her father's house till she again goes to her father-in-law's place at the time of *muklawā*. After the marriage ceremonies are over at the *Anand Karaj*, neither of the party is allowed to engage in festivities. At the *muklawā*, too, not more than five persons are invited to visit the bridegroom's house.

The *Anand Karaj* at Khote being the centenary celebration, the round of marriage this time was the highest so far. The marriages are also performed during the fairs of Basant, Holi, Baisakhi, Asoo-da-Mela, Dussehra and Diwali or on special occasions when special *melas* are arranged for the purpose. While the Basant, Asoo-da-Mela and Dussehra festivals are always celebrated at Bhaini Sahib, the seat of the Namdhari sect, the fairs of Baisakhi and Diwali are held at Amritsar. Holi fair is either held at Bhaini Sahib or Jewan Nagar, Hissar. Basant coincides with the birthday of Guru Ram Singh. The Asoo-da-Mela held in August during the death anniversary of Guru Partap Singh.

The Anand Marriage Act was passed in 1909 and applies to all Sikh marriage. On the occasion of the *Anand Karaj* centenary celebrations, the Guru also announced for the first time that Sejadaris (Sikhs without the five K's: *Kirpan*, *Kesh*, *Kangha*, *Kara*, *Kachha*) could also take advantage of the *Anand Karaj* ceremony provided the parties concerned promised to give up meat, wine and tobacco.

Namdharis are strictly forbidden to perform marriages except at the hands of the Guru. According to another convention followed by the sect, marriages are not performed in the villages of either party. For the convenience of the devotees living abroad, the Guru has recently visited Russia, Africa, Thailand and Japan to perform marriages there. So great is the esteem of even these devotees for the Guru that

a good many of them who can afford visit India to perform the marriages of their daughters and sons according to the simple *Anand Karaj* rites in the presence of their spiritual leader.

GLOSSARY

Anand Karaj	: Literally means 'happy task'.
Guru Granth Sahib	: Sacred book of the Sikhs.
Hawan	: Oblations to consecrated fire.
Kirpan	: Sword.
Kangha	: Comb.
Kara	: Iron bangle.
Kachha	: Under-wear.
Mela	: Fair.
Parshad	: Sweets distributed after prayers, usually <i>halwa</i> made of flour and ghee.
Sangat	: Association.
Mandap	: Wooden structure raised to perform marriage ceremonies.
Muklawā	: After the marriage, the bride resides in her father-in-law's house only for a few days and then returns to her father's house. After some time, there is a call again from the father-in-law for the bride to live with her husband which is called <i>muklawā</i> .

BARGAON : A HINDUIZED GOND VILLAGE

VISHWA MOHAN

(Received on 17 August 1963)

THE village of Bargaon is situated in Niwas Tahsil of District Mandla in Madhya Pradesh. It can be reached from Kalpi which is 32 miles from Jabalpur. There is a forest road of $9\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Kalpi to Ghontkhera. The traveller proceeds another mile and a half until he reaches Rengajhori. From here, a bridle path for about 2 miles takes one to Bargaon. Bargaon is situated on the highland and is the best drained part of a region surrounded by thick forest and small hillocks on three sides. The writer stresses this physical isolation and lack of communication of Bargaon to emphasize that it has not been able to withhold the penetration of Hinduism.

The area of the village is 1275.73 acres, out of which only 734.44 acres are cultivated. The houses in the village are located on high ground and are surrounded by bamboo fencing which includes *bari* (kitchen-garden), a feature very common in villages of Madhya Pradesh. In this village the *baris* are comparatively very large; the villagers are relatively prosperous. The houses are tiled, but the walls are made of bamboo matting which is thickly plastered with clay both inside and out. In a few houses, baked bricks are also used for the construction of the front wall or pillars in the residential area. Separate cattle-sheds are also present.

The population of the village as counted by the writer is 270, out of whom 141 are males and 129 females. There are 51 houses grouped in six or seven clusters. The clusters are separated from one another by cultivated fields. The inhabi-

The writer conducted this survey in the summer of 1960 on behalf of the National Council of Applied Economic Research, New Delhi.

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tants are mostly Gonds, who now call themselves Raj Gonds. But they do not belong to that section of the Gonds which has traditionally provided rulers and enjoyed a higher status. It is only because they have started wearing the sacred thread, *janeu*, and worshipping Siva (Sankara) that they call themselves Raj Gonds. There are also two families each of the Baiga, the Panika, the Ahir, and one of the Lohar caste. Besides, two teachers who are upper caste Hindus, have also now permanently settled here.

The primary occupation of most of the tribal inhabitants is farming. A few families which are comparatively well-off solely depend upon the income of their land, but those who possess insufficient or no land, work as agricultural labourers or as labourers under the Forest Department. Their subsidiary occupation is collection of forest produce like leaves for country cigarettes, *tendu ka patta*, *mahuwa*, lac, etc.

Both *kharif* (*sihari*) and *rabi* (*unhari*) crops are sown in this region but there is more emphasis on *kharif*, because of the comparative suitability of this crop to local conditions. The principal among *kharif* crops are paddy, *kodon*, *kutki* (small millets), but *urd*, *til*, and *ramtila* (oil-seeds) are also cultivated. The main *rabi* crops are wheat and gram; but *massur*, a variety of pulses, oil-seeds like *rai* etc., are also grown. The yield of *kharif* crop in this village is comparatively high for which many factors are responsible. The farmers prepare their land well, sow good seeds, and occasionally use cow-dung as manure. They take loans from co-operative societies and from other sources and utilize this amount for purchasing bullocks and good seeds and sometimes for fertilizers or even for the preparation of land. During harvest, a few prosperous tribal people usually employ labourers. These features are uncommon in near-by villages, and are limited to this village alone.

One of the spheres in which Hindu influence has been most profound is in regard to food habits. The people take a kind of porridge made of small millets or maize (*pej*) and eat pulses and rice (*dal-bhat*). On festive or other special occasions, they take bread and vegetables (*sag*). Milk and

curd or buttermilk or whey is also taken in considerable quantities. Nobody goes for fishing. Nobody keeps pigs or chicken, although in the neighbouring villages chicken and pork are considered a delicacy. As a rule, they do not drink liquor ; it is severely looked down upon. Non-vegetarianism and alcoholism are inseparable elements of tribal life. They are not only an important part of their diet but are inextricably associated with rituals and ceremonies. Indeed in all villages surrounding Bargaon both non-vegetarianism and alcoholism are prevalent. In such circumstances the renunciation of both these things by the inhabitants of Bargaon is definitely indicative of strong Hindu influence. In answer to the writer's suggestion about poultry farming as a very lucrative business, a Baiga replied that the very idea is repugnant to him. He related to the writer his experience how a couple of years ago when he visited a relation of his, living in a near-by village, he became so disgusted on seeing the droppings of chicken and pigs all around that he was compelled to leave the place. The only thing to which they are addicted is tobacco.

Their dress is quite simple, but not so scanty as of their counterparts living in the neighbouring villages. Men wear *dhoti*, shirt or *bandi*, and also occasionally use a short turban (*phenta*). Women attire themselves in long *sari* and blouse. All grown-up males (only the Gonds) put on the sacred thread, which is not only an exclusively Hindu element but is a mark only of those enjoying a high social status among the latter.

In every house there is a place of worship where an idol of Siva is placed. They bathe every day and after that worship the deity. Religious functions which the writer attended show close similarity to Hindu practices. The recital of *Satyanarayan katha*, describing the benefits accruing from God's worship, is a very common feature in Gond families. The author also attended the *jawara* ceremony performed to please the tribal deity, Bada Deo ; but he found that all the inhabitants did not turn up, while in other villages people attach great importance to this ceremony and

celebrate it with enthusiasm. In fact, the writer found that in religious matters the people are divided into two groups. The majority have taken completely to Hindu gods, but a small minority, while worshipping Hindu gods, continue to retain the worship of their own tribal gods as well.

Their mode of greeting guests also indicates Hindu influence. As soon as somebody arrives, they greet him with folded hands and offer betel-nut or tobacco. Whenever the author approached any villager he was offered betel-nut or cardamom. This is a direct adoption of Hindu etiquette, which is found nowhere else in the tribal villages of this region.

Another noticeable feature is their comparatively high standard of education. No single family was found which did not have one or more persons who could read and write Hindi. Specially among the younger generation, everybody, irrespective of sex, appeared to have received education in schools. There are 14 persons who have passed the Middle School Examination, out of whom one is a woman, now married to a teacher in a near-by school. Out of these 14, 3 have gone to Sagar to attend the teachers' training course, 2 are serving as teachers, 1 has become a *gram sahayak* or Village Level Worker and gone to a village 42 miles from Bargaon, 1 is being trained as a home guard and another in cottage industry. Lastly, one tribal boy is attending the tenth class and another the ninth in Mandla. There are 31 persons including 9 girls who have passed through the primary school. This year, 3 more girls have passed through the fifth class, but the boys could not get through. In the current year, in the primary school of Bargaon 60 students have been enrolled, who are more or less regularly attending classes, out of whom 48 are boys and 12 girls. Of these, 19 boys and all the girls belong to this village.

With the spread of education the problem of unemployment has also arisen. A young Gond who has completed his teachers' training is sitting idle because he has not been able to get any job for the last 1½ years. This has considerably disheartened

him. The author was told that last year 13 tribal students, after passing from the Middle School at Kalpi, went for teachers' training to Sagar, but only 3 were admitted. Every year about 150 persons undergo teachers' training at Sagar, and it has become a serious problem to absorb all of them in schools.

This progress in education, agriculture, and other walks of life is largely due to the efforts of Chatar Singh, who about fifty years ago is said to have had a feeling that he had been sent by God to reform his tribal brethren. Although poorly educated himself, he spared no pains for the uplift of his village, Bargaon. This enthusiastic Gond was responsible for improved agricultural practices which the villagers have adopted, and for the observance of the strict vegetarianism, complete avoidance of drink, wearing of the sacred thread, keeping the houses and the village on whole clean, and similar other reforms. He called tribal assemblies, took part in various activities, and discussed with government officials and other people his programmes and tried to reform his Gond brothers.

Chatar Singh has left behind four sons, who are now in their sixties or seventies and a number of grandsons and great grandsons. There is a small hut on the outskirts of the village where he used to live alone, worship Mahadeo and contemplate on social problems. His home has been converted into a sacred place.

APPENDIX I

Population of the Village

Sl. No.	Head of the family	Affiliation
	Patel Tola	
1.	Umrao Singh (Patel)	Raj Gond
2.	Balmat Singh	"
3.	Gulab Singh	"
4.	Basori	"
5.	Phool Singh	"
6.	Brij Lal	"
7.	Gyani Das	Panika
8.	Bhangi Lal	(Teacher)
9.	Vishambhar Singh	(Teacher)

10.	Manglu	Raj Gond
11.	Kop Sing	"
12.	Lal Sing	"
13.	Udal Singh	"
14.	Naval Singh	"
15.	Mullu Das	Panika

Harra Tola

16.	Bahadur	Raj Gond
17.	Durjan	"
18.	Bhangi	Suryabansi Gond
19.	Paltu	Lohar
20.	Rakhan	Raj Gond
21.	Durga	"
22.	Chammi	"
23.	Bare Lal	"
24.	Thunnu Singh	"

Jhursi Tola

25.	Kamal Singh	Raj Gond
26.	Brij Lal	"
27.	Jarhu	"
28.	Sone Singh	Suryabansi Gond
29.	Ramu	Baiga
30.	Sukul	"

Khirkha Tola

31.	Naval Singh	Raj Gond
32.	Sunder	"
33.	Prit Lal	Ahir
34.	Gend Lal	"
35.	Hari Singh	Raj Gond
36.	Girdhari	"
37.	Dan Sing	"
38.	Dumra	"

Kullu Tola

39.	Khumman	"
40.	Aman Singh	"

Bheet Tola

41.	Ranmat Singh	"
42.	Kop Singh	"
43.	Navli	"

Jamun Tola

44.	Halku	"
45.	Akali	"
46.	Madan Singh	"
47.	Jhannu	"
48.	Chiddi	"
49.	Jhuuni	"
50.	Tilka	"
51.	Chandan	"

Services which they give and receive

Social

1. Way of Greeting :
 - a. Greet with folded hands
 - b. Offer betel-nuts
 - c. Cardamom
 - d. Tobacco
2. Ceremonies, marriage or others :
 - a. Offer prepared food
 - b. Grains
 - c. Tobacco

Religious

3. Individually they worship :
 - a. Shankar Mahadeo
 - b. Bada Deo
4. Collectively they celebrate :
 - a. *Satyanarayan katha*
 - b. *Kirtan, bhajans*
 - c. *Jawara*, a tribal festival

Economic

5. For agricultural purposes labour is employed for which payment is made in :
 - a. Cash
 - b. Kind or
 - c. Other facilities are provided and help is given.
6. Labour is employed for other than agricultural purposes, e.g. house construction, repairs, or for other purposes for which payment is made in :
 - a. Cash
 - b. Kind

In the accompanying table, the responses obtained from 51 subjects regarding the services given and received are tabulated. Altogether there are 17 items broadly divided under 3 major headings—social, religious and economic. Each heading is again divided into two categories, 1 & 2 in social. 3 & 4 in religious and 5 & 6 for economic. These figures correspond with the figures given in the list on page 347. The columns a, b, c and d indicate *the services given*; the columns a—, b—, c— and d— indicate *the services received*.

SERIAL NO.	S O C I A L										R E L I G I O U S										E C O N O M I C									
	1					2					3					4					5					6				
	a	a	b	b	c	c	d	d		a	a	b	b	c	c	e	a	a	b	b	c	c	e	a	a	b	b	c	c	e
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MISCELLANEOUS NOTES

I. A Letter from Sarat Chandra Roy The 13th August, 1937.

My dear Dr. Guha,

I enclose an abstract of my proposed paper (I forget what *title* for it I indicated in my last letter to you). I propose to write something on the lines of the abstract sent herewith. Although I have expressed this view (as contained in this Abstract) before, my idea is that it requires to be emphasized. I should like to know your views on this question or rather this line of approach. I shall also thank you if you let me know the topic of your Presidential Address and the line of your treatment of the topic.

I am at present so overwhelmed with work of various kinds (social and propagandist, as the President of the District Harijan Sevak Samiti and Anti-Drink Society ; economic and educational, as the President of the Oraon-Munda-Siksha-Sabha and of the Bramacharya Sangha, and as chief adviser and promoter of several other organizations for the uplift of the aborigines and 'depressed' classes, besides my duties as President of the executive committee of a Bengal High School, and some other institutions ; and also semi-political work in connection with the District Board, etc.) that I do not know when I shall have time to sit down quietly for a day or two to write up the proposed paper for the Science Congress. I am afraid I may not have time before the X'mas holidays.

As for the other promised 'Note' on the Alpine affinities of the Bengalis, I am yet on the look-out for evidence and I do not know what sort of evidence may come in my way. In any case, I do not think the proposed 'Note' will take more than four or five minutes to read, for it is likely to be nothing

The letter was addressed by Sarat Chandra Roy, the founder of *Man in India*, to Dr. B. S. Guha who was then Assistant Superintendent in the Z. S. I. and had been elected as President of Anthropology in the Indian Science Congress, 1938.

more than one or two suggestions for investigators to work upon, if they think the suggestions worth pursuing. In previous years I found lists of 'Abstracts' to include one or two bare titles of papers without any abstract. If this may be done this time, you may include in the 'Abstracts' only the title sent by me of the proposed 'Note' in a previous letter (I repeat I do not remember the wording of the title exactly), otherwise you may drop it altogether. As for my views on your proposal for the special protection of the aborigines, I think something has to be done, but as for the exact measures, it will require hard thinking after a few months' watching of the ways of the Congress Ministries' dealing with them. I expect to be able to take part in the discussions that you propose to initiate on the question.

I am eager to know the names of the European (and American) anthropologists whom you expect to attend the Congress, and what papers they severally propose to read. Will men like Haddon, Marett, the Seligmans, etc. be coming? If not, whom do you expect? Are any social anthropologists expected?

Trusting this finds you in the best of health, and wishing all success to the Indian Science Congress session at Calcutta this time and to its distinguished President,

I remain,
With kind regards,
Yours sincerely,
Sarat Chandra Roy

P. S. I shall feel obliged if you will kindly direct your office to send me a copy of the 'Abstracts' of the papers to be read when the 'Abstracts' have been printed.

Abstract

In this paper the author pleads far greater attention than has been hitherto paid by Indian anthropologists to the psychological and spiritual (in the widest connotation of the

term) side of human society and its growth than to the physical side of man and the technical side of human culture. Not that the study of these latter aspects is to be neglected, but the students' interest in them, should, the author thinks, be subordinate and ancillary to his interest in the former.

As the cultural and spiritual side of man constitutes the real essence of humanity and distinguishes Man from the rest of animal creation, it is fitting and proper that in India, at any rate, the Science of Man should be classed apart from Zoology and not as a part of it as the authorities of the Indian Science Congress have so long thought fit to class it. The author has pleaded for this line of approach on some previous occasions, but he thinks it will bear repetition as it requires to be stressed.

II. Is There a Separate Tribal Problem ?

When it comes to the question of poverty or social inequality there is little difference between how the advanced classes of India treat the rural cultivators and artisans on the one hand and the tribals on the other.

The problem of development of the peasant and handicraft worker is just the same whether the person speaks a tribal language or one belonging to the Indo-Aryan or Dravidian family.

There is of course one slight difference. The tribes of India often use their language, and that creates an additional obstacle in the way of their free communication with those with whom they are associated in a common economic enterprise.

Certain little tribal communities realized the fact that if they were absorbed in Hindu society they would be given a very low status in the hierarchy. Therefore, they sought seclusion in the jungles away from their non-tribal neighbours. The Birhor furnish such an example. Their settlements are generally found on the outskirts of a village at the fringe of the forest. They have specialized in rope-making. They collect *chop* fibres from the jungle from which they make ropes and barter it for paddy and other food-grains in the neighbouring villages. They hunt small game, trap rabbits, collect

honey which is sold in the near-by villages. A few groups have started keeping goats and poultry which are also sold for ready money. Their economy is thus tied up with the village and in consequence they have learnt to use the local dialect along with their own. In spite of their isolation they have merged into the larger economic federation and have been swallowed up by the extension of cash economy.

The Santals who are more numerous have adopted plough or wet cultivation. At the same time they have succeeded in maintaining their cultural integrity. The Munda, the Oraon, the Ho have done the same. Among some of these tribes there is a great sense of pride, which is legitimate, for their own language, religion, music and dances, etc. In order to maintain their originality they do not want to be submerged in Hindu society and become reckoned as one of the low castes.

When it comes to the question of development one observes that, whether tribal or non-tribal, the problems facing the rural people are practically the same. It is the problem of poverty, of lack of education, insanitary conditions and superstition. It is these that have to be removed without making any distinction between tribal and non-tribal communities. It is best to leave it to the tribals themselves to decide which are the cultural values they want to preserve.

Swami Vivekananda said with reference to the women of India, 'Educate them and leave them free to shape their own destiny.' Regarding the tribal people also, it may be said that they should be given the fullest education which every other citizen of India aspires to, and then it is for them to decide what they shall do with their own lives. Vivekananda firmly believed that freedom is the foundation of growth. It should be therefore the purpose of every reform movement to create the necessary conditions of freedom so that individuals and communities may grow into their fullest stature without restricting the freedom and growth of others.

III. A Short Note on Khasi Smithery

In the whole of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills the Synteng have alone specialized in the art of making pottery. These potters are concentrated in and around the village of Larnai, about 14 miles from Jowai, the biggest township of the Jaintia. One main reason for the concentration of potters is the availability of *yang kapaliang* (potter's clay) in the Sung valley, 4 miles from Larnai. It is again interesting to note that traditionally the knowledge of the technology of smithery has been restricted among the Khasi (proper). The *mohkhiew* (shouldered hoe), *waitbnoh* (bill-hooked dao), *wait lyngkut* (Khasi dao) and *sping* (that can be used as blade of an axe and also digging stick. This particular tool resembles in shape and function, a polished neolithic celt) are now mainly produced in the villages of Sohryngkham, Myllem and Mawkdoh. The typical Khasi shouldered hoe, *mohkhiew*, is more popularly nick-named as *mohkhiew-laitdom*. The blacksmiths of Myllem, Sohryngkham and Lailyngkot certify that the village of Laitdom, situated 32 miles west of Shillong, is pioneer in the field of smithery in the K & J Hills. It is also gathered that because *mohkhiew* was first designed and made in the village of Laitdom, it is called by the name *mohkhiew-laitdom*. The Laitdom blacksmiths knew the process of *sainar* (smelting of iron) from *u mawpyrsut* (iron ore). There are large deposits of ore at Laitdom, Lyngkhiew (12 miles south-west of Shillong) and at Nongkrem (10 miles east of Shillong). It is notable that no blacksmith now-a-days has found in these two latter villages. Meanwhile, in the village of Sohryngkham, an informant aged sixty (approximately) intimates that in his boyhood he saw his elder brother smelting iron from ore. He outlines the process, in brief, as far as he remembers, 'U mawpyrsut was to be taken and washed and wrapped in *tyrkhang* leaves and heated in charcoal fire and thus iron could be had in lump.' However, after Laitdom, the villages Sohryngkham and Mawkdoh retain the antiquity of producing *mohkhiew*, *waitbnoh*. Then came the village of Myllem where the earliest family of blacksmiths settled about 44 years ago.

In the Jaintia Hills, the necessary smithery requirements are mainly catered by immigrant blacksmiths from the district of Sylhet (now in East Pakistan), who have settled at Ummawlong and Jowai for the last sixteen years or more. The solitary blacksmith at Ummawlong has been supplying *phal* (ploughshare) to the Synteng. This immigrant blacksmith at Ummawlong does not make *mohkhiew* which the Synteng get from the village of Sohryngkham, lying in the border of Khasi and Jaintia tracts.

In the village of Laitlyngkot, four blacksmith families (Khasi) make indigenous types of lock. There are some hundred families at Nongkhyrih now engaged in making *ukhmam* (arrow) that have a good demand in the Khasi national game, *jingiasiat* (arrow-shooting competition).

Nongkhyrih is the only village in K & J Hills where arrows are made in large numbers. Primarily, two types of arrows are made:—(1) *khnam* with conical arrowhead (2) *khuamplieng* provided with two *sngap* (barb) near the tip of the *sop* (arrowhead). The former variety, used in *jingiasiat*, has a bumper production and sale. The latter variety, used in hunting small game, has a poor market. *Khnam* is made by men; while the women do the finer work of stiching *sner* (eagle's feather) at the rear of the *kdait* (reed)-made shaft.

The Khasi bellow, *ka shlem*, is operated by hand. Piston bellows are also used in villages like Sohryngkham.

Detailed data relating to Khasi smithery have been collected during the author's visits to the villages of Myliem, Laitlyngkot, Nongkhyrih, Ummawlong and Sohryngkham on five different days during June-July, 1963. The data will be presented with necessary sketches and photographs after proper analysis.

BOOK REVIEWS

Census of India 1961, Volume XVI, West Bengal, Part VI, Village Survey Monographs No. 1. *Published by the Manager of Publications, Civil Lines, Delhi. 1963. Pp. 35, 22 illus., charts, industrial classification. Rs. 2.20 nP.*

An attempt has been made in the present monograph to describe the life of a village named Kodalia in the district of Hooghly, West Bengal. The Registrar General of India says in the Foreword that the purpose of such monographs is 'to construct a map of Village India's social structure.' The present report contains four chapters dealing with village gods and goddesses, house-types, ornaments, furniture, lighting, food habits, household deities, occupation, indebtedness, types of families, age-groups, etc. etc. Information was largely collected with the help of a questionnaire, and it is perhaps natural that under these circumstances an anthropologist will not get a full picture of what he understands by 'social structure'.

One is thankful to the Census Department for collecting accurate information of village life all over India in the present manner. But a few improvements can easily be suggested. This is not for the purpose of fault-finding, but for the use of investigators who can easily bring in a little more significant information from their field of work.

The report refers to a caste panchayat of the Karmakars (BLACKSMITHS) in Chapter I, p. 3. It also states that in Loharpara 'quite a number of these families hail from Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. Is it to be understood that blacksmiths have congregated in one particular part of the village? If it is so, how do they stand in relation to one another in respect of their common interests? While describing the dress of Bauri women, Chapter II, p. 6, we are told that they 'wear full length *Saris* in the proper manner but they do not wear blouses or other garments'. The question is, what is the *proper manner*? One may guess that urban style or styles prevalent among upper classes are being adopted by women of the Bauri caste. If that is so, and if there was originally a difference between the upper and lower castes, the question is, why is such

change taking place. While describing garments and styles one has also to note that they differ on various ceremonial occasions and also from one caste to another. A description of such variations would be quite relevant to a report of the present kind, for it would indicate how differences between social strata are reflected also in dress and other habits. In the discussion of ornaments, one could perhaps have added the use of conch and iron bangles, of lac-dye and of vermilion which are the special marks of the married state in so far as particular portions of Bengal are concerned. Sometimes the report contains suggestions or inferences which seem to be tenuous. Thus on p.10 we read: 'Radio-sets also provide a means of entertainment and therefore families possessing radio-sets may be considered to be *intellectually somewhat advanced* (italics ours). In this village, the Baidyas seem to be more advanced intellectually. After them come the Brahman, Sadgops and Kayasthas.' If the evidence is the possession of radio-sets, as is suggested by the above remark, then the inference made is perhaps not quite justified.

In the discussion on inter-caste marriages the report states that 'Caste is a thing which is very much prized and hence the desire to rise socially by contracting marriages with higher castes.' It is not, however, clear if the frequency of such marriages is actually on the increase, and if there are also other methods of 'climbing' through the adoption of cultural habits which distinguish the upper castes. Such observations would have added depth and value to the present report.

A description of the village as it is tends to convey the impression that in certain respects the village can be treated as an isolate. Perhaps it would have been worthwhile to throw a little light on facts of inter-village relationships at the caste as well as occupational levels.

The publication is useful and it would have perhaps been of greater help to the reader if a map had been appended in order to show the distribution of house-types and of castes. A few plans and elevations would, perhaps, have been more helpful than some of the rather indifferent photographs. We are thankful to the Census Department for this new and original attempt to describe India's rural life.

Tarasish Mukhopadhyay

Conflict and Solidarity in a Guianese Plantation. By Chandra Jayawardena. *London School of Economics Monographs on Social Anthropology.* The Athlone Press, 1963. Pp. 160. 25 shillings.

This study of social conflict deals with labourers of Indian descent in two sugar plantations in the country of Berbice, British Guiana. It discusses the causes of social conflict, its various forms and consequences. Only one type of conflict which is expressed in interpersonal disputes over prestige, known as 'eye-pass disputes', has been dealt with in detail. The disputes are analysed against the background of the social system. Social scientists have studied the function of social conflicts and discussed its anomic character as well as integrative rôle. Dr. Jayawardena attempts to explore the validity of these theories with certain case studies made in the plantations.

The author gives a detailed picture of the social structure of the plantations and presents a picture of the local concepts of social standing and social misbehaviour. In British Guiana caste exists in an atrophied form. A person inherits the caste of his father. It has no other social function. The traditional Indian-joint family has been replaced by the nuclear family. This development has been assisted by the plantation management. The rôle of the caste elders or village elders has been taken over by the plantation manager. The families are three generation deep and it is characterized by bilateral organization. The Indians have undergone the process of 'Creolization'. In dress, household furniture, decoration, secular celebrations and material prestige symbols, the Creole mode of life is ascendent. Hindus have adopted burial instead of cremation, though there has not been much conversion to Christianity. Hindu and Urdu languages are confined only to religious ceremonial.

The plantation society is strictly stratified. The class system is based on occupation and income. The four classes are formed by the employer, the supervisory staff, clerical staff and labourers. In the last, class distinction is made between skilled and unskilled labour. Class distinctions are seen in education, language, membership of clubs, dress, etc. Between the two kinds of labourers there are differences in marriage customs, marital stability, family structure, religion, education and the standards of living,

The most important conflict is caused by 'eye-pass' disputes, which are communal conflicts and arise from a sharing of egalitarian values. An individual retaliates against a supposed slight because he believes himself to be entitled to prestige which is at least on par with that of others. These disputes occur between those persons who are in the prestige-acquiring period of their lives, are mature members of the community, belong to the same age and status groups and same neighbourhood, are relatively successful, and are held in the same esteem. Such disputes need not be necessarily violent. The disputes are an institutional device for maintaining the egalitarian social order. At the end of the dispute neither party gains a clear advantage and the resultant statement makes it clear that no one is superior to the other. The eye-pass disputes are regulated. The sanctions against taking sides prevent the dispute from becoming a riot. Frequent spectacles of the disputes educate the public in the norms, urge conformity to them and impress upon them the egalitarian character of society. The disputes can also be viewed as the expression of conflict between egalitarian norms in a plantation society and the norms of individual achievement in a wider society. The conflicts therefore assume positive functions. They occur within the framework of accepted norms and values, their multiplicity inhibits wide chasms in the social structure and they are regulated up to a point.

Eye-pass disputes are dysfunctional to the extent they militate against the norms of the total society. At the present time its positive role is more important. But the wind of change is coming over these plantations. This will alter the status and the perspective of plantation labourers as well as the composition of plantative communities. Economic development will lead to the emergence of new industries which in turn would call for both occupational and economic mobility.

Dr. Jayawardena's study of social conflict has brought out the positive and negative character of the eye-pass disputes which have helped to maintain the egalitarian social norms. In the present set-up it is the best safeguard of the interests of plantation labourers.

Crete and Early Greece. By Friedrich Matz. Translated from German by Ann E Keep. Methuen, London. 1962.

This book is one of the volumes in the *Art of the World*, a series of regional histories of visual arts. The period covered by this volume is a prelude to the flowering of classical Greek art. Students of Greek history are aware of the beautiful artistic creations in the fields of architecture, painting, clay modeling and drawing. How they reached such a state of perfection is not difficult to trace if we follow the long time of development ever since the beginnings of civilization in Crete. The geographical location of Greece was also helpful as it stood between the East and the West, from both of which it received cultural influences.

The author begins with the neolithic sites in Crete and Greece and passes on through the art styles of the early Bronze Age to the more mature styles of the Palace Period of Minoan art. Besides dealing in great detail with the characteristics of different art forms, the author devotes some attention to the political, sociological, religious and economic factors in the history of Crete which made such fruitful artistic activity possible. Ample attention has been paid to the golden period of Mycenaean culture. The value of the book has been enhanced by numerous coloured plates and many drawings.

Sachchidananda

The Maler : A Study in Nature-Man-Spirit Complex of a Hill Tribe. By L. P. Vidyarthi. Bookland, Calcutta. 1963. Rs. 20.

The Maler or the Sauria Paharia of the Rajmahal Hills in Santal Paragana have long attracted the attention of anthropologists. Their hilly and forested habitat, comparative isolation, history of depredations in the plains, shifting cultivation, integrative themes and special cultural focus, all of which are different from that of the Santal, have made their study interesting. The works of Bainbridge (1907) and Sarkar (1938) make it possible to study social change among them.

The Maler are a section of a larger tribe, the Paharia, which is reputed to have been once a splinter of the Oraon tribe. The languages of the community belong to the Intermediate group of Dravidian languages. In culture, there are more differences than similarities. The Oraon have exogamous clans functionally strong

even now. The Paharia do not have the clan system. The Oraon are settled cultivators of the plains, the Paharia are the *kurwa* or *khallu* cultivators of the hills. Their deities too do not bear any resemblance to the Oraon.

The Paharia are a tribe in whom the impact of ecological factors has led to segmentation. The different sections, the Maler, the Mal Paharia and the Kumarbhag Paharia have varying cultures and display different degrees of acculturation. The Kumarbhag Paharia, the most advanced section of the tribe, assume an air of superiority and claim Rajput status due to their relationship with the family of the Raja of Sultanabad. The Paharia, therefore, are an example of the tribe-caste continuum not so much on the time scale but on that of space.

In the present book, Dr. Vidyarthi has made an intensive study of the Sauria Paharia in their typical environment. He has viewed their culture from the point of the Nature-Man-Spirit complex. Thus he has described their slash-and-burn cultivation, their forest economy, the tribe, lineage and village, the family and individual and his society and the sacred complex consisting of the sacred geography, sacred specialists and sacred performance and sacred centres. Perhaps we may add the sacred beings or the *gossaiyan*, ancestral spirits, evil spirits and witches. Details regarding customary law and economy have been relegated to the appendices. Thus this study is ethnography with a difference. Showing the interaction between nature, man and spirit is his main concern. Interplay of these three elements is to be found in all communities, although it is most marked in simpler societies. Dr. Vidyarthi has done a real service by demonstrating this interaction in an Indian tribe.

Dealing with the levels of interaction of the Maler, the author has elaborated the mechanisms by which the individual comes into contact with the world at large. While Bainbridge's territorial divisions can no longer be traced, marriage, festivals, markets and the institution of the Sardar provide opportunities for the Maler to forge links with people outside the family. The smallest circle is that of marriage because the Maler do not recognize any unit other than the three-generation-deep lineage as the prohibited kin for marriage. Most marriages take place within a radius of eight miles. The festival circle has a radius of eleven miles. The

weekly market hinterland would not have a longer radius. The biggest circle was a political one, the unit whose head was the Sardar, a regional headman who for a long time acted as an instrument of indirect rule.

The Maler exhibit an equivocal attitude towards pre-marital sexual relationship. Ideally it is prohibited, there being one or two mechanisms for controlling it. But the existence of the bisexual youth dormitory and the ample opportunities provided by their forest habitat for pre-marital affairs would assume a tacit recognition of an established fact. Village elders take cognizance of this offence rarely. They are more likely to overlook or condone it. It is a part of their norm. The ordeal of licking salt is also losing its sanctity. It seems likely that the Maler's disapproval of pre-marital sexual relationship has been acquired by contact with Hindu norms.

In course of his study, Dr. Vidyarthi came across certain resettlement schemes for Paharias. Government wanted to settle some Paharias at the foot of the hills in colonies, but no colony flourished, for the inhabitants did not feel at home in their new environment. Torn away from the forest, from *khallu* and their *gossaiyan*, they felt like fish out of water, and the resettlement schemes were a failure. Fortunately that scheme has been discontinued. There are other welfare schemes running in Paharia areas such as the revival of *sabai*-grass cultivation on an extensive scale, construction of hill-paths leading to inaccessible hill villages, eradication of malaria, small pox and other diseases, as well as the growth of education which are beginning to have an impact on Paharia life. Their traditional political system has shown signs of cracking with the introduction of the statutory panchayats and the extension of the police administration in the Damin area. These factors and the social changes which have consequently been brought about have yet to be studied by some future scholar.

Sachchidananda

Witchcraft: European and African. By Dr. Geoffray Parrinder. Revised Edition. Faber and Faber, 24 Russel Square, London. 1963. Pp. 215. 25 sh.

This book combines for the first time a survey of European witchcraft with an account of African witchcraft. Dr. Parrinder

describes the belief in witchcraft as a tragic error, a false explanation of the ills of life and one that only led to cruel and baseless oppression in which countless people suffered. It is very interesting to read the account of European beliefs in witchcraft. Witches were believed to form assemblies, covens and Sabbaths. These were believed to be held at night in wild places whither the witches transported themselves immediately. The meetings were held at night, because 'men loved the darkness rather than the light for their works are evil'. Attendance to the nocturnal Sabbaths can be explained by the dream activity of the witch herself. Whether all witchcraft is a product of the dream state is questionable, yet the inquisitors in the medieval age condemned witches on the basis of their confessions squeezed out through indescribable torture. The belief in flying was one of the oldest strands of witchcraft. It was also believed that some witches had a magical ointment with which they anointed their bodies all over, and so were able to fly through the air. The ointment was sometimes said to have been made from the flesh of unbaptised children, a reflection of the belief in cannibalism. In their Sabbaths the witches were supposed to kill and eat new-born and unbaptised children. This was the worst thing with which the medieval populace charged them. The belief in killing and eating new-born and unbaptised children touched a vital point in human emotion which seemed to be deliberately nurtured in order that mothers would rush up to the church for baptising their dear ones.

In face of these horrible accusations the continental inquisitors felt justified not merely in burning the witches alive, but also tearing their flesh with hot pincers and roasting them on a slow fire. When there was a biblical authority that 'thou shall not suffer a witch to live', Pope Innocent VIII could not restrain himself from promulgating his bull *Summis desiderantes* which marked the open declaration of war by the Church against witches. Armed with papal authority, the inquisitors went through much of western Europe spreading blood and fire. The German Church historian Kurtz considered that following the bull of Innocent VIII in 1484, some 300,000 witches were killed. For England, one estimate gives 70,000 as hanged under James I. Dr. Parrinder has successfully shown in the book how inappropriately the biblical

evidence has been used as a justification for persecution in both old European and also some modern African witch-finders.

Who were these people called witches? Most of the people accused of being witches in Europe and elsewhere in the world were women. Old and ugly women would be particularly suspect. They were very withered, spent and decrepit old creatures, their sight almost gone. These miserable wretches were so odious unto their neighbours and so feared that few dared offend them. They perhaps lived alone, lived longer, jealous of young mothers, which would render them liable to suspicion in the fever of witch-panic. The tyranny of men over women, the vengefulness of rivals, the hostility to strangers, the oppression of the weak and the old, the debasement of religion, the lowering of morality and kindness, all have had their part in this dreadful business of condemning the poor beings as witches and persecuting them.

There is an astonishing resemblance between the modern African beliefs and those of Europe centuries ago. In African witchcraft there is much spiritual activity, whether imaginary or otherwise. Existence of witchcraft has been recorded in the Vedic period in India as may be evinced from numerous hymns in the *Atharva Veda*. Vasistha says that a female practitioner of witchcraft goes forth at night like a female owl, hateful, hiding herself away. The persons who practised witchcraft were styled as *yātudhānas*, whose meaning oscillates between a human sorcerer and a hostile demon. But it is clear that the Hindu religion as enunciated in sacred literature did not take much notice of witchcraft. In India there were no mass killing of witches and consequential legislation to suppress witchcraft. So far as tribal India is concerned, we do come across even at present frequent cases in which women, in a rare case men, were condemned as witches and then either done to death by a crowd, or themselves committed suicide for fear of persecution. Dr. Parrinder will be well advised to study witchcraft in India, for such an attempt will be amply rewarded.

Belief in witchcraft may have had some value in the past. Some of our medical and herbal knowledge may have come from the magical charms of witch-doctors. Evans-Pritchard says that the belief in witchcraft served useful purposes in giving witch-doctors knowledge of magic, strengthening kinship ties against enemies,

though such utility has been denied by many. The relief offered by witch-hunting and witch-punishing is no more than temporary, and their capacity to allay anxieties no more than illusory, for if witchcraft belief resolves certain fears and tensions, it also produces others. 'One may liken witchcraft beliefs to a safety valve, but let us be clear that the engine which needs it has been badly constructed, nor is the safety valve itself safe.'

Dr. Parrinder's book makes a valuable contribution to the literature on witchcraft. It will enable social workers to understand those unfortunate people who still entertain beliefs in witchcraft. We gladly agree with him when he says that witchcraft is a spiritual belief and needs to be combated with spiritual weapons as well as material. Education is certainly needed. The author rightly feels that education alone cannot root out such a deep-seated belief. African students peer through microscopes to study the apparent causes of disease, but they may still retain their conviction that the spiritual part of the disease comes from a witch. Religion has been misused in witch persecutions in both Europe and Africa. But religion is the only spiritual force that can give a better faith than witchcraft. A pure religion is the only alternative to a debased one. Only perfect love can cast out fear. An enlightened religion, education, medicine, and better social conditions will help to reduce man's inhumanity to man.

We welcome the book wholeheartedly.

K. K. Leuva

The Santals. By *Charulal Mukherjee*. A Mukherjee & Co. Private Ltd. Calcutta-12. Rs. 20.00.

This book appears to be a result of ethnographic work carried out among the Santal in the states of Orissa, Bihar and West Bengal.

There are twelve chapters apart from four appendices. In the first two chapters the author gives a very clear picture of the tribe, their migration and geographical location and at places he has cited references to other earlier publications and folk songs in support of his statements. In chapters third to tenth the entire way of life, economic, social fabric, kinship organization, political system, rites from birth to death, annual round of festivals, religion and magic and witchcraft have been very clearly described.

The chapters dealing with social fabric, kinship organization and rites from birth to death could have been brought together under one broad chapter. Similarly the chapters on the cycle of Santal festivals, religion of the Santals and magic and witchcraft could have been brought under religious system, but probably the experienced author of this book in order to give a very vivid picture of tribe has preferred the present distribution of chapters.

The last two chapters, namely, Santal folklore and the Santal in a changing civilization, have made the book all the more attractive to the students of linguistics, anthropology, sociology and others, interested in the dynamics of culture change. The analysis of folklores and folk tales in which the levels of aspiration and the different aspects of life of the Santal are reflected are of great use to interested students of linguistic anthropology.

Lastly the pictorial illustrations though put together at the end of the book have also a great say in illustrating some of the descriptions given in this study.

B. N. Sahay

Chor Ka Ek Goan. By *Dhirendranath Majumdar*, translated by *Chandra Bhal Tripathi*. Asia Publishing House, Bombay 1. Rs. 12.50.

This is a posthumous work of Dr. D. N. Majumdar which has been translated and published by one of his ablest students.

The book is the result of a study of a mixed village in Mirzapur district in Uttar Pradesh. The study was conducted and completed with the object of observing changes brought about by the Community Development Programme. At Dudhi the project was started in the year 1953 under which there were about 90 villages.

In the first two chapters, the author has given a description of the area and of the mixed village along with the historical background of the village under study. The mixed village consists of Brahman, Kshatriya, Agrahari, Kalwar, Ahir, Kahar, Kewat, Lohar, Teli, Kumhar, Pasi, Chamar and Majhi, Kharwar, Chero, Panika and Bhuiyon. In the third chapter there is the description of means of livelihood of different groups of people. The fourth chapter deals with exploitation of the moneylenders and problems of rural indebtedness. A light has been thrown upon the different

techniques gradually applied by the moneyleaders for exploiting the ignorant people and making them landless labourers. The fifth, sixth and seventh chapters deal with problems of the traditional village and caste panchayat's leadership, factions and intercaste relations. The eighth chapter is a description of customs, incest and taboos related to marriage among the different groups of people of the village. Similarly the different customs and rituals at different stages of life have been recorded in the ninth chapter. The tenth and twelfth chapters describe the religious beliefs and practices of the people and internal agencies of change respectively. The eleventh chapter is a detailed study of the working and progress of the Community Development Projects. The thirteenth chapter is a critical evaluation of C. D. Project in which insiders' views about the project have been recorded.

Tables, diagrams, charts, and photographs help the readers in understanding the social interactions, apart from making the study more scientific.

The book which is written in Hindi will not only be useful for students of society and culture but it will definitely help administrators, planners and the personnel engaged in the C. D. Programme.

B. N. Sahay

Writers and Artists Year Book. 1963 ; 56th year of issue. *Adam & Charles Black, London.* Pp. 41 + 451. 12s. 6d.

The publication under review is a collection of information on matters needed mostly by authors, photographers and journalists. The sections dealt with relate to journals, publishers, agencies and societies, prizes and awards, markets and reference, with a classified index. Informations, condensed and obviously limited, are very useful for ready reference. Two articles, under the Reference Section on 'A Guide to Authors' by Sir Stanley Unwin and the other 'The Writer and Income Tax Liability' by J. H. Burton are valuable features of the book.

Information on Indian professionalists is very meagre and this we consider rather unfortunate. The compilers, we believe, would be well-advised to incorporate more information on India, whose literary field is steadily on the increases.

Arun Kumar Chakrabarti

A Handbook of Anthropometry. By M. F. Ashley Montagu with a Section on the Measurement of Body Composition by Joseph Brozek. Published by Charles C. Thomas, Springfield, Illinois, U. S. A. Pp. xi + 186. 1960. Price not mentioned.

There are few books on practical anthropometry and good books are fewer. Ashley Montagu's 'A Handbook of Anthropometry' is a concise and useful book for students and research workers. The present book is extracted and reprinted as a whole from the author's 'An Introduction to Physical Anthropology' (Third Ed.). The author has carefully noted the latest developments in the field of Physical Anthropology and has incorporated a big section on the Measurement of Body Composition contributed by Joseph Brozek.

Joseph Brozek has brilliantly described the methods of examining soft tissues. In fact, body composition is the very key to human physique. Ashley Montagu has included the most commonly used measurements and observations which have been found most practical. Both methods of anthropometry, practised in the field and laboratory, are described. Chapters on physiometric observation, technique of blood-typing skeletons, methods for taking blood samples in the field and their preservation in the field are laudable.

At the end, the book provides a detailed bibliography of literature on Physical Anthropology. Finally, a section dealing with a list of directories, some current anthropological periodicals devoted to Physical Anthropology, works on Anthropometry & Anthroposcopy, works on Statistics, works on Archaeology, etc. will be very helpful for scholars.

P. Gupta

Index of Articles

(Volume 43, 1963)

Administration of Jagannath Temple in the 18th Century —Nityananda Patnaik	...	...	214
Anthropo-Geographical Study of the Settlement Pattern of a Desert Village —A. P. Bose, S. P. Malhotra	...	...	233
Bargaon : A Hinduized Gond Village —Vishwa Mohan	...	...	341
Book Reviews	...	68, 167, 250, 355	
Caste, Craft and Change —Baidyanath Saraswati	...	...	218
Caste and Service in a Bengal Village —Prabodh Kumar Bhowmick	...	...	277
Culture Sequence in Rajasthan —Adris Banerji	...	...	225
Description of a Village in Benares District —Rev. William Tennant	...	...	35
Faction Situation at Brahminpura —P. N. Rastogi	...	...	192
Gaddi of Chamba, The —Saradindu Bose	...	...	192
Gandhi-Vivekananda-Rabindranath —Nirmal Kumar Bose	...	...	271
Holy Round of Kuka Marriages, The —J. Bhatnagar	...	...	337
Innovation and Innovators in Indian Villages —Satadal Dasgupta	...	...	27
Miscellaneous Notes	...	155, 349	
Note on the Anthropometry of the Bhatra and the Muria (Kondagaon) of Bastar, A —Hirendra K. Rakshit	...	...	55
Palaeolithic Industry of Bankura, West Bengal —D. Sen, A. K. Ghosh, M. Chatterjee	...	...	190
Preliminary Note on the Asura, A —P. Gupta, P. C. Dutta	...	...	114
Sex and Marriage in the Age of the Mahabharata —A. K. Sur	...	...	42
Socio-Economic Difference in Dispersed Dwelling and Compact Settlement Types in Arid Regions —A. B. Bose, S. P. Malhotra, Laj Paul Bharara	...	...	119
Spatial Aspects of Rural Living —A. B. Bose, Mohan Lal Sen	...	...	9
Social Structure of the Hill Juang : A Pre'cis, The —Charles Mc Dougal	...	...	183
Some Social Tensions in India —Nirmal Kumar Bose	...	...	1
Subarnavaniks, On the —Jatindra Mohan Datta	...	...	141
Technical Study of Some Prehistoric Potsherds, A —Alaknanda Ray, Gautamsankar Ray	...	...	147
Temple Organization in Goa —Baidyanath Saraswati	...	...	181
Village Leadership in North-East India —P. D. Saikia	...	...	92

Index of Authors

(Volume 43, 1963)

Banerji, Adris			
—Culture Sequence in Rajasthan	...	...	225
Bharara, Laj Paul			
—See Bose, A. B., S. P. Malhotra, Laj Paul Bharara			
Bhatnagar, I.			
—The Holy Round of Kuka Marriages	...	...	337
Bhowmick, Prabodh Kumar			
—Caste and Service in a Bengal Village	...	...	277
Bose, A. B., Mohan Lal Sen			
—Spatial Aspect of Rural Living	...	...	9
Bose, A. B., S. P. Malhotra			
—Anthropo-Geographical Study of the Settlement			
Pattern of a Desert Village	...	...	233
Bose, A. B., S. P. Malhotra, Laj Paul Bharara			
—Socio-Economic Difference in Dispersed Dwelling and			
Compact Settlement Types in Arid Regions	...		119
Bose, Nirmal Kumar			
—Gandhi-Vivekananda-Rabindranath	...	...	271
—On Communal Separatism	...	...	87
—Some Social Tensions in India	...	...	1
Bose, Saradindu			
—The Gaddi of Chamba	...	...	192
Chatterjee, M.			
See Sen, D., A. K. Ghosh, M. Chatterjee			
Dasgupta, Satadal			
—Innovation and Innovators in Indian Villages	...		27
Datta, Jatindra Mohan			
—On the Subarnabaniks	...	...	141
Dutta, P. C.			
See Gupta, P., P. C. Dutta			
Ghosh, A. K.			
See Sen, D., A. K. Ghosh, M. Chatterjee			
Gupta, P., P. C. Dutta			
—A Preliminary Note on the Asura	...	...	114
Malhotra, S. P.			
—See Bose, A. B., S. P. Malhotra			
—See Bose, A. B., S. P. Malhotra, Laj Paul Bharara			
Mc Dougal, Charles			
—The Social Structure of the Hill Juang : A Pre'cis	...		188
Mohan, Vishwa			
—Bargaon : A Hinduized Gond Village	...	...	341
Patnalk, Nityananda			
—Administration of Jagannath Temple in the 18th Century			214

Rakshit, Hirendra K.			
—A Note on the Anthropometry of the Bhatra and the Muria (Kondagaon) of Bastar	...	...	55
Rastogi, P. N.			
—Faction Situation at Brahminpura	...	...	328
Ray, Alaknanda, Gautamsankar Ray			
—A Technical Study of Some Prehistoric Potsherds	...	...	147
Ray, Gautamsankar			
—See Ray, Alaknanda, Gautamsankar Ray			
Sen, D., A. K. Ghosh, M. Chatterjee			
—Palaeolithic Industry of Bankura, West Bengal	...	...	100
Sen Mohan Lal			
—See Bose, A. B., Mohan Lal Sen			
Saikia, P. D.			
—Village Leadership in North-East India	...	...	92
Saraswati, Baidyanath			
—Caste, Craft and Change	...	...	218
—Temple Organization in Goa	...	...	131
Sur, A. K.			
—Sex and Marriage in the Age of the Mahabharata	42
Tennant, Rev. William			
—Description of a Village in Benares District	35

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